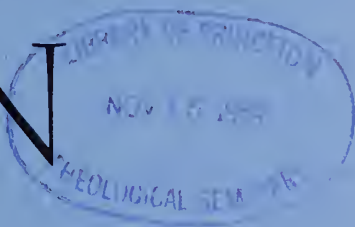


THE PRINCETON SEMINARY BULLETIN



A Time to Say No

Ronald C. White, Jr.

Editorial

What Will You Be?

C. Frederick Buechner

Commencement Address, 1984

On Putting Yourself Into It

Thomas W. Gillespie

Farewell Remarks to the Class of 1984

A Letter to Presbyterians

John Alexander Mackay

Immanence and Transcendence

Robert Coles

Stone Lecture

Theological Conflicts of the 1920s and 1930s
in the Presbyterian Church and on the
Princeton Seminary Campus

Edwin H. Rian

Princetoniana

Hymns and Theology: A Little Case Study

Hugh T. Kerr and
David A. Weadon

VOLUME V, NUMBER 3

NEW SERIES 1984

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY



Thomas W. Gillespie
President

James I. McCord
President Emeritus

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

John M. Templeton, President

David B. Watermulder, Vice-President

Robert M. Adams, Secretary

William E. Lawder, Treasurer

James F. Anderson
Clem E. Bininger
Robert W. Bohl
John H. Donelik
Peter E. B. Erdman
Rosemary H. Evans
Milton A. Galamison
Sarah B. Gambrell
Francisco O. Garcia-Treto
Helen H. Gemmill
Carl H. Geores, Jr.
Margaret L. Harmon
Alexandra G. Hawkins
C. Thomas Hilton
J. Roger Hull, Jr.
Bryant M. Kirkland

Johannes R. Krahmer
Henry Luce III
Donald C. McFerren
Earl F. Palmer
George T. Piercy
William A. Pollard
Clifford G. Pollock
William H. Scheide
Laird H. Simons, Jr.
Frederick B. Speakman
William P. Thompson
Karen L. Turner
Jeffrey R. Wampler
Samuel G. Warr
Charles Wright
Ralph M. Wyman

TRUSTEES EMERITI

Eugene C. Blake
J. Douglas Brown
John G. Buchanan
Frederick E. Christian
Allan M. Frew
John T. Galloway
Weir C. Ketler

Harry G. Kuch
Raymond I. Lindquist
John S. Linen
J. Keith Loudon
Dale W. McMillen, Jr.
James M. Tunnell, Jr.
Irving A. West

The Princeton Seminary Bulletin

VOL. V

NEW SERIES 1984

NUMBER 3

Ronald C. White, Jr., Editor

J. J. M. Roberts, Book Review Editor

CONTENTS

A Time to Say No	Ronald C. White, Jr.	185
<i>Editorial</i>		
What Will You Be?	C. Frederick Buechner	189
<i>Commencement Address, 1984</i>		
On Putting Yourself Into It	Thomas W. Gillespie	195
<i>Farewell Remarks to the Class of 1984</i>		
A Letter to Presbyterians	John Alexander Mackay	197
<i>Immanenēce and Transcendence</i>	Robert Coles	203
<i>Stone Lecture</i>		
Theological Conflicts of the 1920s and 1930s in the Presbyterian Church and on the Princeton Seminary Campus	Edwin H. Rian	216
<i>Princetoniana</i>		
Hymns and Theology: A Little Case Study	Hugh T. Kerr and David A. Weldon	224
Sermons		
The Passion of Sobriety	J. Christiaan Bekker	232
Evangelism in an Exploding World	Charles A. Ryerson III	235
Who Is Jesus Christ for Us?	T. Herbert O'Driscoll	240
There Is Yet One	Wallace M. Alston	244

BOOK REVIEWS

1 Samuel, by Ralph W. Klein	J. J. M. Roberts	249
In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History, by John van Seters		250
The Bible and Liberation: Political and Social Hermeneutics, ed. by Norman K. Gottwald	Katharine Doob Sakenfeld	251

THE PRINCETON SEMINARY BULLETIN

Recent Discoveries and the Biblical World, by Raymond E. Brown	<i>Jeffrey S. Siker</i>	252
Paul's Apocalyptic Gospel: The Coming Triumph of God, by J. Christiaan Beker	<i>Bruce W. Cameron</i>	253
St. Paul's Corinth: Texts and Archaeology, by Jerome Murphy-O'Connor	<i>Jeffrey S. Siker</i>	255
The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon, by Dennis Ronald MacDonald		256
Luke-Acts: The Promise of History, by Donald Juel	<i>David R. Adams</i>	258
Good News to the Poor: Wealth and Poverty in Luke-Acts, by Walter E. Pilgrim	<i>Beth Johnson</i>	259
The God of Faith and Reason: Foundations of Christian Theology, by Robert Sokolowski	<i>Diogenes Allen</i>	261
Is God a Creationist? The Religious Case Against Creation-Science, by Roland M. Frye	<i>J. J. M. Roberts</i>	261
Slavery, Sabbath, War, and Women, by Willard M. Swartley; The Early Fathers on War and Military Service, by Louis J. Swift; and When War Is Unjust, by John Howard Yoder	<i>Neil Elliott</i>	263
Giving Good Homilies: A Communications Guide to More Effective Preaching, by Jay Cormier	<i>Donald Macleod</i>	266

THE PRINCETON SEMINARY BULLETIN

The Bulletin is published three times annually by the Theological Seminary of the United Presbyterian Church at Princeton, New Jersey 08542.

Each issue is mailed free of charge to all alumni/ae and on exchange basis with various institutions. Back issues are not available.

Editor

Ronald C. White, Jr.

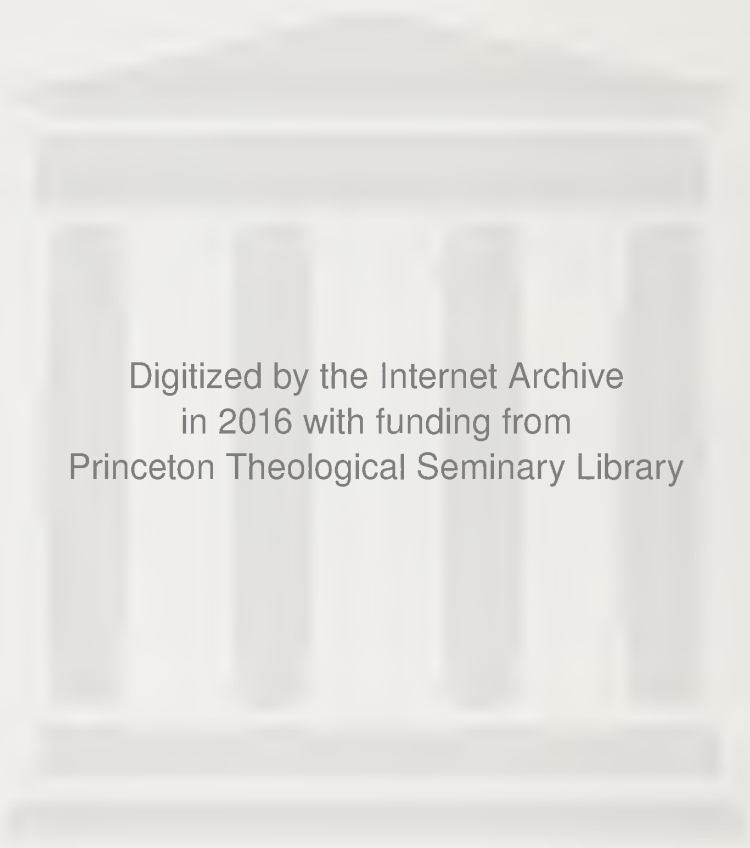
Book Review Editor

J. J. M. Roberts

All correspondence should be addressed to the Editor and accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped return envelope.

The policy of the Bulletin is to publish lectures and sermons by Princeton Seminary faculty and administration, and presentations by guests on the Seminary Campus; therefore we cannot accept unsolicited material.

Second Class postage pending at Princeton, New Jersey 08542.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library

A Time to Say No

by RONALD C. WHITE, JR., editor

THERE is a time to say no.

During 1984 the churches have been commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the Barmen Declaration. From May 29-31, 1934, the first Synod of the "Confessing Church" met in Barmen, a city in the winding valley of the Wupper River in North Rhine-Westphalia. A theological committee composed of Karl Barth, Hans Asmussen, and Thomas Breit, had been charged with preparing a declaration for discussion. In fact, Barth composed the original draft himself in a single afternoon with no notes or preliminary draft. At its heart, the Barmen Declaration sets out six "evangelical truths." These truths are presented each time in a threefold way. Thus, the first of the six declarations reads:

"I am the way, the truth, and the life; no one comes to the Father, but by me" (John 14:6). "Truly, truly, I say to you, he who does not enter the sheepfold by the door but climbs in by another way, that man is a thief and a robber. . . . I am the door; if anyone enters by me, he will be saved" (John 10:1, 9).

Jesus Christ, as he is attested for us in Holy Scripture, is the one Word of God which we have to hear and which we have to trust and obey in life and in death.

We reject the false doctrine, as though the Church could and would have to acknowledge as a source of its proclamation, apart from and besides this one Word of God, still other events and power, features and truths, as God's revelation.

In all six points, scripture texts are laid down and then the theological declaration is set forth by both affirmation and rejection.

There is much rich ore to mine in the Barmen Declaration. In large assemblies in Seattle and Barmen, and in many small gatherings in churches and communities, this year people have not only remembered but have asked probing questions about the lessons of Barmen for today. May I suggest that a continuing lesson from Barmen, in addition to the central encounter of Christ in culture, is the form of the Declaration itself. Barmen bequeathes to modern men and women an ancient method. This method teaches us that there is a time to say No. There is good precedent for this method. It is not always remembered that in the sermon on the plain in Luke, Jesus' blessings are followed immediately by his pronouncement of woes. The poor and the hungry receive Jesus' affirmation while the rich and the full are chastized. Modern liberation theologies have accented the biblical truth that there is a relationship between the poverty of some and the riches of others.

The structures of many creeds and confessions also exhibit this method. In the ancient confessions, the rejections were always appended to the

affirmations. In Catholic understanding the rejections were the only legally enforceable parts of the document. The Presbyterian Confession of 1967 builds on this pattern with a series of assertions and negations.

This method intersects the contemporary pluralism where often one affirmation is as good as any other. In this context truth can become reduced to personal preference. When faith is privatized, is it any wonder that the church is at a loss when it encounters political, social, and economic systems? Barmen arose from the need of the church to say No to a state that was imposing its power alongside or before the power of the gospel.

We dare not forget that Barmen was also a statement to the churches. The church in its theological task must know when to say No to false doctrines. To say No is never popular. In remembering Barmen we must not forget that the Declaration was roundly criticized by many theologians and church leaders in the months following.

But how does this method inform our preaching and theological work today? I am reminded of a story told to me by James Smart. One summer Smart had accepted a preaching invitation in a favorite vacation area in his native Canada. Arriving earlier than expected, he decided to attend the church where he would be preaching the following Sunday. He heard that morning a sermon delivered with dash and wit. There was only one problem: the sermon would have made Pelagius proud. Good works, yea moralism, was heralded but not even a grace note was to be heard. Smart observed that after the service the guest preacher was warmly congratulated for his edifying sermon. This Canadian Presbyterian theologian and preacher decided then and there to change the topic of his sermon.

The next Sunday Smart proclaimed justification by grace through faith. At the conclusion of what I am certain was a sermon marked by both good theology and winsome style, the customary congratulations were received by the guest preacher. Later, pleased but perplexed, Smart related that from that point on he decided that it was not enough to declare the affirmative side. The people at the vacation parish applauded both sermons. The full dimension of proclamation demands that affirmation be balanced with rejection.

I can hear the objection that to include the rejection introduces a negative element into the communication of the Christian faith. It seems to go against the spirit of toleration and inclusiveness. Yes, there is the precedent of Barmen, some have said, but who are we to be able to see so clearly in the admittedly ambiguous social and political situation that exists today?

These objections have existed as long as the precedent of negation. To be sure, one must be wary of shooting from the hip in every sermon and theological statement. But even the dangers of misuse do not cancel out the validity of the method.

What is the promise of the method in our own time? In the first instance, a timely No will help us clarify what we say. This is the question of truth. While in London this summer for a conference on the laity, I browsed in the bookstore in the British Council of Churches. I have often found it to

be a good practice to ask the bookseller what people are buying. She pointed me to Lesslie Newbigin's *The Other Side of 1984: Questions for the Churches*. Newbigin delivered the Warfield Lectures at Princeton this spring to packed audiences. In this timely little book, as at the Princeton lectures, he is inviting the churches on both sides of the Atlantic to adopt "an authentically missionary approach to modern Western culture." A foundation to this approach is a recovery of the good word of the ancient Christian tradition—"dogma." Newbigin analyzes perceptively how we who are children of the Enlightenment have elevated "doubt" and downgraded "dogma." In our time "dogmatic" sounds narrow or too self-assured. But the peaceful co-existence of Christianity with post-enlightenment culture has too often meant that we are unwilling to name and critique contemporary aberrations of faith and truth.

Newbigin is not advocating that we return to a scholastic "dogmatics" of either the Middle Ages or post-reformation orthodoxy. Following the lead of Michael Polanyi, he argues for a recovery of dogma rooted in the acknowledgement that basic beliefs cannot be demonstrated but are grasped by faith. One hears Newbigin's Indian experience as a call for genuine dialogue with other religions and ideologies. But dialogue means the willingness to say No as well as Yes. To live out a genuinely missionary approach to Western culture will mean both an unashamed affirmation of the truth of the gospel and a necessary rejection of Pelagian and other points of view that are false doctrines.

If Elijah confronted the four hundred prophets of the religion of Baal, we find ourselves confronting many varieties of modern religions and philosophies. The problem is syncretism. The false teaching is not clear but subtle. After Barmen and World War II, Karl Barth was criticized for not speaking out as much against communism as he did against national socialism. His answer was that communism was very clear in its atheistic and materialistic foundation, but that in the West ideologies and dogmas were subtly mixed. It is in the West that we need to hear No as well as Yes.

In the second place, a timely No can clarify what we do. Thirty years ago in a time of national upheaval John A. Mackay authored "A Letter to Presbyterians." (As a tribute to our former seminary president, this letter is reprinted in this issue of the *Bulletin* on the occasion of its thirtieth anniversary.) Mackay had been elected Moderator of the General Assembly in 1953 and this letter came from the Moderator's pen. It was a response to the wave of anti-communism sweeping the country. Whipped up by Senator Joseph McCarthy in a series of congressional hearings, the churches were both targets of accusations and sometimes part of this anti-communist crusade.

Into this highly charged atmosphere Mackay sent a letter truly profound in balancing both affirmation and rejection. In this context, it was not enough to affirm certain timeless truths. In his first weeks as Moderator Mackay had spoken of anti-communism as "a form of idolatry." Now in

the letter he rejects "the subtle but potent assault upon basic human rights . . . now in progress." Mackay expresses his concern that "attacks are being made upon citizens of integrity and social passion which are utterly alien to our democratic tradition." The content of the letter is commended—I was struck by Mackay's call for negotiations, which he traces to biblical precedence, even with those who are one's avowed enemies. But pay attention also to the method. To make the case clear, we have here a case study of the method of both affirmation and rejection.

In our day we need to write letters and preach sermons that embody this method. Yes, all favor peace, but surely we must oppose certain policies and practices if peace is to have a chance. It is not enough to affirm that God is Father and Mother, and we are all brothers and sisters, and be silent about racism. Apartheid is wrong not only in social policy but fundamentally is heresy in the clear light of biblical truth.

There is a time to say No.

What Will You Be?

by C. FREDERICK BUECHNER

Dr. C. Frederick Buechner is highly acclaimed both as a novelist and essayist and as an accomplished preacher. He is an alumnus of Princeton University and Union Theological Seminary in New York, and has taught at both the Laurenceville School and at Phillips Exeter Academy, where he was chair of the department of religion. He is the author of many books, including Lion Country and Peculiar Treasures.

Commencement Address, 1984

Text: And Moses went up unto God, and the Lord called unto him out of the mountains, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel: Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself. Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people: for all the earth is mine: and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation. These are the words which thou shalt speak unto the children of Israel. (Exodus 19:3-6)

So put away all malice and all guile and insincerity and envy and all slander. Like newborn babes, long for the pure spiritual milk, that by it you may grow up to salvation; for you have tasted the kindness of the Lord. (But) You are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people, that you may declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light. (1 Peter 2:1-2, 9)

“**R**ICH MAN, poor man, beggar man, thief / Doctor, lawyer, merchant chief,” or “Indian chief” sometimes if that’s how you happened to be feeling that day. That was how the rhyme went in my time anyway, and you used it when you were counting the cherry pits on your plate or the petals on a daisy or the buttons on your shirt or your blouse. The one you ended up counting was, of course, the one you ended up being. Rich, poor. Standing on a street corner with a tin cup in your hand. Or maybe a career in organized crime. What in the world, what in heaven’s name, were you *going to be when you grew up*. It was not just another

question. It was the great question. Whether we remember to ask it or not, I strongly suspect that it may be the great question still. What are you going to be? What am I going to be? I’ll turn 58 this summer, and I’ve been in more or less the same trade for a long time, and I contemplate no immediate change, but I think of it still as a question that’s wide open. For God’s sake what do you suppose we’re going to be, you and I? When we grow up.

Something in us rears back in indignation of course. At 28, 58, 78, or whatever we are, surely we’ve got our growing up behind us. We’ve come many a long mile and thought

many a long thought. We've taken on serious responsibilities, made mature decisions, weathered many a crisis. Surely the question is, rather, what are we now and how well are we doing at it. If not doctors, lawyers, merchant chiefs, we are whatever we are—computer analysts, businesswomen, school teachers, artists, ecologists, ministers, even, or if the job isn't already in our pocket, it's well on its way to being. The letters of recommendation have all been written. The resumes have gone out. The interview on the whole went very well. We don't have to count cherry pits to find out what we're going to end up being because for better or worse the die has already been cast. Now we simply get on with the game. That's what commencement is all about. That's what life is all about.

But then. Then maybe we have to listen—listen back farther than the rhymes of our childhood, thousands of years farther back than that. A thick cloud gathers on the mountain as the book of Exodus describes it. There are flickers of lightning, jagged and dangerous. A clap of thunder shakes the earth and sets the leaves of the trees trembling, sets even you and me trembling a little maybe, if we have our wits about us. Suddenly the great *shophar* sounds, the ram's horn—a long-drawn, pulsing note louder than thunder, more dangerous than lightning—and out of the darkness, out of the mystery, out of some cavernous part of who we are, a voice calls: "Now therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people"—my *segullah*, my precious

ones, my darlings—"and ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." Then, thousands of years later but still thousands of years ago, there is another voice to listen to. It is the voice of an old man dictating a letter. There is reason to believe that he may actually have been the one who up till all but the end was the best friend that Jesus had, Peter himself. "So put away all malice and all guile and insincerity and envy and all slander," he says. "Like newborn babes, long for the pure spiritual milk that by it you may grow up to salvation; for you have tasted the kindness of the Lord." And then he echoes the great cry out of the thunder clouds with a cry of his own. "You are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people," he says, "that you may declare the wonderful deeds of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light."

What are we going to *be* when we grow up? Not what are we going to *do*, what profession are we going to follow, what niche are we going to choose for ourselves. But what are we going to *be*—inside ourselves and among ourselves? That is the question that God answers with the Torah at Sinai. That is the question that the old saint answers in his letter from Rome. Holy. That is what we are going to be if God gets his way with us. It is wildly unreasonable because it makes a shambles of all our reasonable ambitions to be this or to be that. It's not really a human possibility at all because holiness is god-ness and only God makes holiness possible. But being holy is what growing up in the full sense means, Peter suggests. No matter how old

we are or how much we've achieved or dream of achieving, we are not truly grown up till this extraordinary thing happens. Holiness is what is to happen. Out of darkness we are called into "his marvelous light," Peter writes, who knew more about darkness than most of us if you stop to think about it, and had looked into the very face of light itself. We are called to have faces like that—to be filled with light so that we can be bearers of light. I've seen a few such faces in my day, and so have you, unless I miss my guess. Are we going to be rich, poor, beggars, thieves, or in the case of most of us a little of each? Who knows? In the long run who even cares? Only one thing is really worth caring about, and it is this: "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation."

Israel herself was never much good at it, God knows. That is what most of the Old Testament is about. Israel didn't want to be a holy nation. Israel wanted to be a nation like all the other nations, a nation like Egypt, like Syria. She wanted clout. She wanted security. She wanted a place in the sun. It was her own way she wanted, not God's way, and when the prophets got after her for it, she got rid of the prophets, and when God's demands seemed too exorbitant, God's promises too remote, she took up with all the other gods who still get our votes and our money and our 9 to 5 energies, because they couldn't care less whether we're holy or not and promise absolutely everything we really want and absolutely nothing we really need.

We can't very well blame Israel because, of course, we are Israel. Who

wants to be holy? The very word has fallen into disrepute—holier-than-thou, holy Joe, holy mess. And "saint" comes to mean plaster saint, somebody of such stifling moral perfection that we'd run screaming in the other direction if our paths ever crossed. We are such children, you and I, the way we do such terrible things with such wonderful words. We are such babes in the woods the way we keep getting hopelessly lost.

And yet we have our moments. Every once in a while, I think, we actually long to be what out of darkness and mystery we are called to be; when we hunger for holiness even so, even if we'd never use the word. There come moments, I think, even in the midst of all our cynicism and worldliness and childishness, maybe especially then, when there's something about the saints of the earth that bowls us over a little. I mean real saints. I mean saints as men and women who are made not out of plaster and platitude and moral perfection but out of human flesh in all its richness and quirkiness for the simple reason that there's nothing else around except human flesh to make saints out of. I mean saints as human beings who have their rough edges and their blind spots like everybody else but whose lives are transparent to something so extraordinary that every once in a while it stops us dead in our tracks.

I remember going to see the movie *Gandhi* when it first came out, for instance. We were the usual kind of noisy, restless Saturday night crowd as we sat there waiting for the lights to dim with our popcorn and soda pop, girlfriends and boyfriends, our legs draped over the backs of empty

seats; but by the time the movie came to a close with the flames of Gandhi's funeral pyre filling the entire screen, there wasn't a sound or a movement in that whole theater, and we filed out of there—teenagers and senior citizens, blacks and whites, swingers and squares—in as deep and telling a silence as I've ever been part of or has ever been part of me.

Like newborn babes, long for the pure spiritual milk that by it you may grow up to salvation, for you have tasted of the kindness of the Lord," Peter wrote. We had tasted it. In the life of that little bandy-legged, bespectacled man with his spinning wheel and his bare feet and whatever he had in the way of selfless passion for peace, and passionate opposition to every form of violence, we had all of us tasted something that at least for a few moments that Saturday night made every other kind of life seem empty, something that at least for the moment I think every last one of us longed for the way in a far country you yearn for home.

"Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, a holy nation." Can a nation be holy? It's hard to imagine it. Some element of a nation maybe, some remnant or root. "A shoot coming forth from the stump of Jesse," as Isaiah put it, "that with righteousness shall judge the poor and decide with equity for the meek of the earth." The 18th century men and women who founded this nation dreamed just such a high and holy dream for us too and gave their first settlements over here names to match. New Haven, New Hope, they called them—names that almost bring tears to your eyes if you listen to what they are saying, or once said. Prov-

idence, Concord, Salem, which is *shalom*, the peace that passeth all understanding. Dreams like that die hard, and please God there's still some echo of them in the air around us. But the way things have turned out, the meek of the earth are scared stiff at the power we have to blow the earth to smithereens a hundred times over and at our failure year after year to work out with our enemies a way of limiting that ghastly power. In this richest of nations, the poor go to bed hungry, if they're lucky enough to have a bed, because after the staggering amounts we spend to defend ourselves, there isn't enough left over to feed the ones we're defending, to help give them decent roofs over their heads, decent schools for their kids, decent care when they're sick and old.

The nation that once dreamed of being a new hope, a new haven, for the world, has become instead one of the two great bullies of the world who blunder and bluster their way toward unspeakable horror. Maybe that's the way it inevitably is with all nations. They're so huge and complex. By definition they're so exclusively concerned with their own self-interest conceived in the narrowest terms that they have no eye for *holiness*, of all things, no ears to hear the great command to be saints, no heart to break at the thought of what this world could be—the friends we could be as nations, the common problems we could help each other solve, all the human anguish we could join together to heal.

You and I are the eyes and ears. You and I are the heart. It's to us that Peter's letter is addressed. "So put away all guile and insincerity

and envy and all slander," he says. No *shophar* sounds or has to sound. It's as quiet as the scratching of a pen, as familiar as the sight of our own faces in the mirror. We've always known what was wrong with us. The malice in us even at our most civilized: the way we focus on the worst in the people we know and then rejoice when the disasters overtake them that we believe they so richly deserve. Our insincerity: our phoniness, the masks we do our real business behind. The envy: the way other people's luck can sting like wasps. And all slander: all the ways we have of putting each other down, making such caricatures of each other that we treat each other like caricatures, even when we love each other. All this infantile nonsense and nastiness. "Put it away!" Peter says. Before nations can be holy, you must be holy. *Grow up* to salvation. For Christ's sake, grow up.

People at my stage of the game—58 come July? For us isn't it a little too late? People at your stage of the game? For you isn't it a little too early? No, I don't think so. Never too late, never too early, to grow up, to be holy. We've already tasted it—tasted the kindness of the Lord, Peter says. That's such a haunting thought. I think you can see it in our eyes sometimes. Just the way you can see something more than animal in animals' eyes. I think you can sometimes see something more than human in human eyes, even yours and mine. I think we belong to holiness even when we can't believe it exists anywhere let alone in ourselves. That's why everybody left that crowded shopping mall movie theater in such an unearthly silence. That's

why it is hard not to be haunted by that famous photograph of the only things that Gandhi owned at his death: his glasses and his watch, his sandals, a bowl and spoon, a book of songs. What does any of us own to match such riches as that?

Children that we are, even you and I, who have given up so little, know in our hearts not only that it is more blessed to give than to receive but that it is also more fun—the kind of holy fun that wells up like tears in the eyes of saints, the kind of blessed fun in which we lose ourselves and at the same time begin to find ourselves, to grow up into the selves we were created to become.

When Henry James, of all people, was saying goodbye once to his young nephew Billy, his brother William's son, he said something that the boy never forgot. And of all the labyrinthine and impenetrably subtle things that that most labyrinthine and impenetrable old romancer could have said, what he did say was this: "There are three things that are important in human life. The first is to be kind. The second is to be kind. The third is to be kind."

In the unlikely event that as the years go by anybody should ever happen to ask you what it was that the speaker said when he was telling you goodbye on this commencement day, I would be willing to settle for that. Be kind. That is what in his own labyrinthine way the speaker tried to say at least.

Be kind because though kindness isn't the same thing as holiness, kindness is next to holiness, because it is the door that holiness enters the world through, enters us through—

not just gently kind but sometimes fiercely kind.

Be kind enough to yourselves not just to play it safe with your lives for your own sakes but to spend at least part of your lives like drunken sailors for God's sake, if you believe in God, for the world's sake, if you believe in the world, and thus to come alive truly.

Be kind enough to others to listen, beneath the words they speak, for that usually unspoken hunger for holiness which I believe is part of even the unlikeliest of us and, by cherishing which, you can help bring to birth both in them and in yourselves.

Be kind to this nation of ours by remembering that New Haven, New Hope, Shalom, are the names not just of our oldest towns, but of our holiest dreams which most of the

time are threatened by the madness of no enemy without as dangerously as they are threatened by our own madness.

"You have tasted of the kindness of the Lord," Peter wrote in his letter, and ultimately that, of course, is the kindness, the holiness, the saint-hood and sanity we are all of us called to, so that by God's grace we may "grow up to salvation" at last.

The silence in this building. The way the light comes through the windows. The sense we have of each other's presence. The feeling in the air that one way or another we are all of us here—you who are graduating and we your well-wishers—to give each other our love. This kind moment itself is a door that holiness enters through. May it enter you. May it enter me. To the world's saving. For Christ's sake. Amen.

On Putting Yourself Into It

by THOMAS W. GILLESPIE

Farewell Remarks to the Class of 1984

A BUSINESSMAN decided to take up golf. After some lessons and a few hours on the driving range, he went to the course one day and hired a caddy.

On the first tee, he sliced his drive into the rough. The caddy heard him say, "Drat!"

His second shot put him back onto the fairway, but his third landed in a sand trap. This time the caddy overheard him say, "Nuts!"

Finally, he got the ball onto the green only to miss a six inch putt. "Shucks!" he remarked.

As they approached the second tee, the caddy said to him, "Sir, if you're gonna learn to play golf, you can't use that kind of language. You're gonna have to put yourself into it."

The same is true of the ministry. There is a vital connection between our self-expression and our self-commitment. That does not require profanity, but it does require integrity. If you are going to learn to minister, you must put yourself into it.

The apostle Paul points up the issue in his second letter to the Corinthians. "For what we preach is not ourselves," he declares, "but Jesus Christ as Lord, with ourselves as your servants for Jesus' sake" (4:5).

Here, contrary to Marshall McLuhan, the medium is not the message. We do not proclaim ourselves either by word or deed. We proclaim Jesus Christ as Lord. But

our message lacks all credibility if the medium is not personally and deeply committed to it. And that commitment is manifested in our willingness to give ourselves to others in the service of Christ.

In an important new book, *The Nature of Doctrine*, George A. Lindbeck argues that religious utterances are true only when they cohere with relevant forms of life.

Thus for a Christian, "God is Three and One," or "Christ is Lord" are true only as parts of a total pattern of speaking, thinking, feeling, and acting. They are false when their use in any given instance is inconsistent with what the pattern as a whole affirms of God's being and will. The crusader's battle cry "*Christus est Dominus*," for example, is false when used to authorize cleaving the skull of the infidel (even though the same words in other contexts may be a true utterance). When thus employed, it contradicts the Christian understanding of Lordship as embodying, for example, suffering servanthood (p. 64).

Make no mistake about it. As you go forth now to proclaim Jesus Christ as Lord in word and deed, you must put yourself into your ministry. And that will require of you both servanthood and suffering. There is great joy in the ministry, but it is not all

“fun and games.” It will require you to give of yourself to people you would rather avoid. You will suffer from your faithfulness and your foolishness, recognizing that the only way to be faithful is to run the risk of being foolish. In your serving and in your suffering, however, you will lend credence to your faith. Not everyone you meet will believe as you believe, but they will at least know that *you* believe the message you proclaim.

To put yourself into the ministry, of course, is to locate life in the sphere of God’s sovereign love in Jesus Christ. It is to nourish your own faith

at the well of that love, lest soon there be nothing of yourself left to give to others. Only as you receive what the Spirit seeks to give will you have something to give that others may receive. As Paul goes on to say in the same passage, “We have this treasure in earthen vessels, to show that the transcendent power belongs to God and not to us” (4:7).

Go forth then into ministry. Put yourselves into it, in the confidence that the One you proclaim as Lord puts himself into it with you, for you, and through you—for others.

A Letter to Presbyterians

by JOHN ALEXANDER MACKAY

To commemorate the importance of John A. Mackay's "A Letter to Presbyterians," it is reprinted in its entirety in this issue of the *Bulletin*. Actually released in November 1953, the letter was widely hailed but also criticized in 1954. The *New York Times* printed the entire document and reported about it on the front page. Praised by the *Washington Post*, and such newsweeklies as *Time* and *Newsweek*, the letter was strongly criticized by the *Los Angeles Times*, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, and other newspapers.

Mackay authored this letter while serving as chairman of a newly expanded and empowered General Council of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. In 1953 he had been elected Moderator of the 165th General Assembly. In the course of preparing this letter for the General Council, Mackay was at the same time touring the country on a moderatorial visit to churches and presbyteries. This travel increased his awareness of the need for such a letter in a divisive hour. The letter underwent seven drafts in the fall of 1953. The first five paragraphs of the letter were added by Stated Clerk Eugene Carson Blake to clarify why the General Council was publishing the letter at this time.

The letter was commended for study and discussion. The most heated discussion was engendered by an article by Daniel A. Poling, "Clergymen Are Citizens, Too," which appeared in April 1954 in the *Saturday Evening Post*. Poling, editor of the *Christian Herald*, accused Mackay and the General Council of being duped so that they were unknowingly instruments of communist propaganda. Poling compared the letter, line by line, to writings in communist publications. Poling was rebutted by many writers and publications, including Robert J. Cadigan, editor of *Presbyterian Life*.

When asked what were the sources of the letter, Mackay replied, "The Bible, the Presbyterian heritage of Bate, and Christian common sense applied to the contemporary situation." "A Letter to Presbyterians" is reprinted here as a case study in prophetic insight and courage.¹

DEAR FELLOW PRESBYTERIANS:

The General Council of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America is instructed under the constitution of the Church, "to cultivate and promote the spiritual welfare of the whole church," and "to

correspond with and advise the General Councils of Presbyteries . . ."

Profoundly concerned about the present situation in our country and the world, the Council addresses itself to fellow Presbyterians through

¹ Helpful perspective on "A Letter to Presbyterians" can be found in Edward A. Dowey, Jr., "Poling and the Presbyterian Letter" in *Christianity in Crisis*, vol. 14, no. 16, October 4, 1954; and K. Steven Parmelee, "The Presbyterian Letter Against McCarthyism" in *Journal of Presbyterian History*, vol. 41, no. 4, December 1963, pp. 201-23.

the Presbyteries and the ministers and officers of the congregations. In doing so it is guided by the historic witness of our Church and the deliverances of successive General Assemblies. The Council hopes that the following statement may help to clarify certain important problems and at the same time initiate a process of thought by which our Church can contribute toward their solution.

The 165th General Assembly made the following pronouncement for the guidance of Presbyterians: "All human life should be lived in accordance with the principles established by God for the life of men and of nations. This is a tenet of Biblical religion. It is also a basic emphasis in our Presbyterian heritage of faith.

"As individuals and as a group, Christians are responsible for adjusting their thought and behavior to those everlasting principles of righteousness which God has revealed in Holy Scripture. It is no less their responsibility as citizens of their nation, to seek as far as their influence may extend, to bring national life and all the institutions of society into conformity with the moral government of God, and into harmony with the spirit of Jesus Christ."

In full accordance with this deliverance, the General Council would share with our church constituency the following thoughts:

Things are happening in our national life and in the international sphere which should give us deep concern. Serious thought needs to be given to the menace of Communism in the world of today and to the undoubted aim on the part of its leaders to subvert the thought and life of the United States. Everlasting

vigilance is also needed, and appropriate precautions should be constantly taken, to forestall the insidious intervention of a foreign power in the internal affairs of our country. In this connection Congressional committees, which are an important expression of democracy in action, have rendered some valuable services to the nation.

At the same time the citizens of this country, and those in particular who are Protestant Christians, have reason to take a grave view of the situation which is being created by the almost exclusive concentration of the American mind upon the problem of the threat of Communism.

Under the plea that the structure of American society is in imminent peril of being shattered by a satanic conspiracy, dangerous developments are taking place in our national life. Favored by an atmosphere of intense disquiet and suspicion, a subtle but potent assault upon basic human rights is now in progress. Some Congressional inquiries have revealed a distinct tendency to become inquisitions. These inquisitions, which find their historic pattern in medieval Spain and in the tribunals of modern totalitarian states, begin to constitute a threat to freedom of thought in this country. Treason and dissent are being confused. The shrine of conscience and private judgment, which God alone has a right to enter, is being invaded. Un-American attitudes toward ideas and books are becoming current. Attacks are being made upon citizens of integrity and social passion which are utterly alien to our democratic tradition. They are particularly alien to the Protestant religious tradition which has been a

main source of the freedoms which the people of the United States enjoy.

There is something still more serious. A great many people, within and without our government, approach the problem of Communism in a purely negative way. Communism, which is at bottom a secular religious faith of great vitality, is thus being dealt with as an exclusively police problem. As a result of this there is growing up over against Communism a fanatical negativism. Totally devoid of a constructive program of action, this negativism is in danger of leading the American mind into a spiritual vacuum. Our national house, cleansed of one demon, would invite by its very emptiness, the entrance of seven others. In the case of a national crisis this emptiness could, in the high sounding name of security, be occupied with ease by a Fascist tyranny.

We suggest, therefore, that all Presbyterians give earnest consideration to the following three basic principles and their implications for our thought and life:

I

The Christian Church has a prophetic function to fulfill in every society and in every age

Whatever concerns man and his welfare is a concern of the Church and its ministers. Religion has to do with life in its wholeness. While being patriotically loyal to the country within whose bounds it lives and works, the church does not derive its authority from the nation but from Jesus Christ. Its supreme and ultimate allegiance is to Christ, its sole

Head, and to His Kingdom, and not to any nation or race, to any class or culture. It is, therefore, under obligation to consider the life of man in the light of God's purpose in Christ for the world. While it is not the role of the Christian church to present blueprints for the organization of society and the conduct of government, the Church owes it to its own members and to men in general, to draw attention to violations of those spiritual bases of human relationship which have been established by God. It has the obligation also to proclaim those principles, and to instill that spirit, which are essential for social health, and which form the indispensable foundation of sound and stable policies in the affairs of state.

II

The majesty of truth must be preserved at all times and at all costs

Loyalty to truth is the common basis of true religion and true culture. Despite the lofty idealism of many of our national leaders, truth is being subtly and silently dethroned by prominent public figures from the position it has occupied hitherto in our American tradition. The state of strife known as "cold war," in which our own and other nations, as well as groups within nations, are now engaged, is producing startling phenomena and sinister personalities. In this form of warfare, falsehood is frequently preferred to fact if it can be shown to have greater propaganda value. In the interests of propaganda, truth is deliberately distorted or remains unspoken. The demagogue, who lives

by propaganda, is coming into his own on a national scale. According to the new philosophy, if what is true "gives aid and comfort" to our enemies, it must be suppressed. Truth is thus a captive in the land of the free. At the same time, and for the same reason, great words like "love," "peace," "justice," and "mercy," and the ideas which underlie them, are becoming suspect.

Communism, as we know to our sorrow, is committed on principle to a philosophy of lying; democracy, in fighting Communism, is in danger of succumbing, through fear and in the name of expediency, to the self-same philosophy. It is being assumed, in effect, that, in view of the magnitude of the issues at stake, the end justifies the means. Whatever the outcome of such a war, the moral consequences will be terrifying. People will become accustomed to going through life with no regard for rules or sanctities.

A painful illustration of this development is that men and women should be publicly condemned upon the uncorroborated word of former Communists. Many of these witnesses have done no more, as we know, than transfer their allegiance from one authoritarian system to another. Nothing is easier for people, as contemporary history has shown, than to make the transition from one totalitarianism to another, carrying their basic attitudes along with them. As a matter of fact, the lands that have suffered most from Communism, or that are most menaced by it today, Russia and Italy, for example, are lands which have been traditionally authoritarian in their political or their religious life. And

yet the ex-Communists to whose word Congressional committees apparently given unqualified credence are in very many instances people whose basic philosophy authorizes them now, as in the past, to believe that a lie in a good cause is thoroughly justified.

III

God's sovereign rule is the controlling factor in history

We speak of "This nation under God." Nothing is more needed to-day than to explore afresh and to apply to all the problems of thought and life in our generation, what it means to take God seriously in national life. There is an order of God. Even in these days of flux and nihilism, of relativism and expediency, God reigns. The American-born poet, T. S. Eliot, has written these prophetic words:

Those who put their faith in
worldly order
Not controlled by the order of
God,
In confident ignorance, but
arrest disorder,
Make it fast, breed fatal
disease,
Degrade what they exalt.

Any attempt to impose upon society, or the course of history, a purely man-made order, however lofty the aims, can have no more than temporary success. Social disorder and false political philosophies cannot be adequately met by police measures, but only by a sincere attempt to organize society in accordance with the everlasting principles of God's moral government of the world. It is,

therefore, of paramount importance that individuals, groups and nations should adjust themselves to the order of God. God's character and God's way with man provide the pattern for man's way with his fellow man.

That we have the obligation to make our nation as secure as possible, no one can dispute. But there is no absolute security in human affairs, nor is security the ultimate human obligation. A still greater obligation, as well as a more strategic procedure, is to make sure that what we mean by security, and the methods we employ to achieve it, are in accordance with the will of God. Otherwise, any human attempt to establish a form of world order which does no more than exalt the interest of a class, a culture, a race, or a nation, above God and the interests of the whole human family, is foredoomed to disaster. Ideas are on the march, forces are abroad, whose time has come. They cannot be repressed and they will bring unjust orders to an end. In the world of today all forms of feudalism, for example, are foredoomed. So too are all types of imperialism. The real question is how to solve the problems presented by these two forms of outmoded society in such a way that the transition to a better order will be gradual and constructive.

Let us frankly recognize that many of the revolutionary forces of our time are in great part the judgment of God upon human selfishness and complacency, and upon man's forgetfulness of man. That does not make these forces right; it does, however, compel us to consider how their driving power can be channeled into forms of creative thought

and work. History, moreover, makes it abundantly clear that wherever a religion, a political system or a social order, does not interest itself in the common people, violent revolt eventually takes place.

On the other hand, just because God rules in the affairs of men, Communism as a solution of the human problem is foredoomed to failure. No political order can prevail which deliberately leaves God out of account. Despite its pretention to be striving after "liberation," Communism enslaves in the name of freedom. It does not know that evil cannot be eradicated from human life by simply changing a social structure. Man, moreover, has deep spiritual longings which Communism cannot satisfy. The Communist order will eventually be shattered upon the bedrock of human nature, that is, upon the basic sins, and the abysmal needs, of man and society. For that reason Communism has an approaching rendezvous with God and the moral order.

Nevertheless, Communists, Communist nations and Communist-ruled peoples, should be our concern. In hating a system let us not allow ourselves to hate individuals or whole nations. History and experience teach us that persons and peoples do change. Let us ever be on the lookout for the evidence of change in the Communist world, for the effects of disillusionment, and for the presence of a God-implemented hunger. Such disillusionment and hunger can be met only by a sympathetic approach and a disposition to listen and confer.

There is clear evidence that a post-Communist mood is actually being created in many parts of Europe and

Asia. Let us seek to deepen that mood. Let us explore afresh the meaning of mercy and forgiveness and recognize that both can have social and political significance when they are sincerely and opportunely applied.

Let us always be ready to meet around a conference table with the rulers of Communist countries. There should be, therefore, no reluctance to employ the conference method to the full in the settling of disputes with our country's enemies. Let us beware of the cynical attitude which prevails in certain official circles to regard as a forlorn hope any negotiated solution of the major issues which divide mankind.

In human conflicts there can be no substitute for negotiation. Direct personal conference has been God's way with man from the beginning. "Come, now, and let us reason together," was the word of God to Israel through the Prophet Isaiah. We must take the risk, and even the initiative, of seeking face-to-face encounter with our enemies. We should meet them officially, whatever their ignominious record, and regardless of the suffering they may have caused us. We too have reasons for penitence and stand in need of forgiveness. In any case, talk, unhurried talk, talk which does not rule out in advance the possibility of success, talk which takes place in private, and not before reporters or microphones or television, is the only kind of approach which can lead to sanity and fruitful understanding. Let the pro-

cess of conference be private, but let its conclusions, its complete conclusions, be made public.

In this connection such an organization as the United Nations is in harmony with the principles of God's moral government. American Presbyterians should remember with pride that it is the successor of a former organization which was the creation of a great American who was also a great Presbyterian. While the United Nations organization is very far from perfection and it functions today under great handicaps, it is yet the natural and best available agent for international cooperation and the settlement of disputes among nations. It is imperative, therefore, that it be given the utmost support. It stands between us and war.

While we take all wise precautions for defense, both within and outside our borders, the present situation demands spiritual calm, historical perspective, religious faith, and an adventurous spirit. Loyalty to great principles of truth and justice has made our nation great; such loyalty alone can keep it great and ensure its destiny.

May God give us the wisdom and courage to think and act in accordance with His Will.

With fraternal greetings,

THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

JOHN A. MACKAY, *Chairman*
GLENN W. MOORE, *Secretary*

Immanence and Transcendence

by ROBERT COLES

ONE of my children asked me what the words, transcendence and immanence, mean. I thought I would forego answering that. Nor do I have a clear idea why I have the audacity to summon such language for the title of these lectures. But I will try to develop some notion, I hope, about some tension in this life, at least as I have experienced it, between high theory or abstractions on the one hand, and the concreteness of this life as we try to live it, slouching toward Bethlehem, on the other.

What I would like to do is tell you some stories. What I would like not to do, what I fear is done all too often, is to come here with a lot of psychological and psychiatric notions in order either to impress you or intimidate you or terrorize you. I am aware that it takes two, however, for this to go on. For every eager expert in American life, there is an all too willing gullible listener ready to think that Jesus himself has arrived with some book or some notion about how important it is to go through this or that "stage" or "period" in life. My mother pointed out to me once, when she was sick in the hospital, that to get ill can be

*Dr. Robert Coles, a native of Boston, has received degrees from Harvard and Columbia Universities, where he studied child psychiatry. He is presently professor of psychiatry and medical humanities at Harvard and research psychiatrist at the Harvard University Health Services. Dr. Coles is the author of several books, including The Children of Crisis, of which volumes 2 and 3 were Pulitzer Prize winners.**

quite an ordeal for those who might want a minister to come and read from the Bible and be thoughtful and kind and bring up maybe one of the old Psalms or remind one of an old hymn. How hard it is to find that these days when people are trying to help you negotiate through three or four stages that some theorist told us are the ways we are supposed to go and meet our maker.

I

With that diatribe, let me go now to the early 1960s in this country. I finished my training—talk about ordeals—in Boston in 1958 in child psychiatry. I participated in some psychoanalytic training in Boston but this was interrupted by the Air Force which took me into its midst in 1958. There was a doctors' draft then and we all had to serve for two years, so I was drafted and assigned to an Air Force hospital in Biloxi, Mississippi. When I heard about this assignment my reaction was, "Oh no, I don't want to go to Biloxi, Mississippi. I want to go to where there are other Air Force bases: San Francisco—London—Tokyo." A certain parochialism tried to enforce its will through telephone calls and letters, but the Air Force would not budge.

And so I went down to Biloxi, Mississippi, where I was in charge of a 48-bed psychiatric hospital. We

* This article is transcribed from the first of the Stone Lectures, delivered on the seminary campus by Dr. Coles in January 1984. It has been prepared for publication by the editor of the *Bulletin*.

would get pilots flown in from various bases. We would also get a number of corpsmen in that large electronics training center. We had an outpatient department, and occasionally they would fly me around to small Air Force bases where I would be rushed in to talk to someone who had gotten into one or another kind of psychological difficulty. Then I would have to decide: does this person stay in the Air Force? Does this person leave? And if the person leaves, under what auspices? Honorable discharge, administrative discharge, dishonorable? They needed a psychiatric clearance for this. This is supposed to be progress in the 20th century: psychiatric clearance.

Rather quickly I started getting in trouble with the Air Force hospital people. I began to notice that the people who were brought to us were often white or black corpsmen who would not have had too much education, who tended to come from local regions of the South, and who would join the Air Force out of joblessness and with some hope of improving their lot. And then they would get into some difficulty. Maybe they would go into a bar and drink a little too much, or maybe they would fight with an officer a few times too many. As I talked to these men and women, they seemed to me to be poor and not too well educated. They had had a hard life already at twenty or twenty-five years old. And I began to feel sorry for them. They were indeed in trouble. They were frightened and anxious, apprehensive and sad, and they were entitled to the respect of being evaluated by a doctor and hospitalized and then dis-

charged honorably under the medical provisions of the Air Force. But I was told again and again, "No, no, no. These people should not be so discharged." The people that they wanted me to discharge medically were the pilots—the officers. If they were caught drinking too much or had some difficulty, then they required the full medical work-up. And of course these officers would go out under the medical provisions of discharge. One day I said to the head of the hospital, in response to several admonitions that I was trying to discharge the wrong people medically, "I didn't ask to come here. I happen to feel that these people whom I'm trying to get out medically should get out medically, and that's the way it's going to be as long as I'm running this service." My decisions had already been overruled several times, and at this point I said, "Look, there's no point in your having me here. I'm perfectly willing to be discharged myself. And the sooner the better." But one fights this kind of fight with a certain difficulty. You have anxieties of your own, a certain fearfulness because you are dealing with these tough officers.

After a while I decided that I needed to get some more psychoanalysis in New Orleans where there was a training institute, since I was going to have to do this anyway when I got back to Boston. I went to see the head of the hospital, who was a colonel, and asked him for permission to drive into New Orleans. He said, "Why do you need permission to drive into New Orleans?" I said, "Because I'm going to see a doctor there and I also want to take some courses at the Psychoanalytic Insti-

tute." "Well, it's alright that you're taking the courses," he said. "That's fine. But what kind of doctor do you want to see?" "A psychiatrist," I said. He asked, "Why are you seeing a psychiatrist?" I said, "Because I need to see a psychiatrist." He said, "Well, why do you need to see a psychiatrist?" and I replied, "Because I'm beginning to think that there's a certain toll exacted in the kind of work I do in here." He said, "Well, you're a psychiatrist. Why don't you talk to yourself if you need to?" This was half in humor. And I replied half in humor, "I'm afraid that may already be happening and that's exactly why I ought to go to New Orleans." The long and short of it was that I got his permission and I did start going.

II

Soon, however, we began having trouble getting to the garden district of New Orleans, where the psychoanalysts have their offices on Britannia Street. As you may know, these offices tend to be located in some of the nicer residential areas of our American cities. However, if you are coming into New Orleans from the east, you have to go through Gentilly and the industrial part of New Orleans. (Those of you who know Walker Percy's novel *The Moviegoer* will know that he mentions Gentilly in the beginning of that novel. If I do nothing else while I am here but push Walker Percy on you, believe me, I will have earned my keep.) So we started having trouble getting to the garden district because the city of New Orleans, I began to realize, was aflame with racial violence and conflict and social upheaval.

Some of you may remember what

happened in New Orleans in 1960 when a federal judge ordered four little black girls, each age 6, to go into two white elementary schools. You would have thought that the devil himself had arrived in that old cosmopolitan port city. The fear and the anger erupted into street scenes, riots, and demonstrations. The Louisiana State legislature burned in effigy the federal judge who ordered those girls into the schools and that federal judge ultimately had to be taken up to Washington in an arrangement that President Kennedy made with Senator Eastland. Skelly Wright, by name, was booted up to the circuit court of appeals. Fine for Skelly Wright and fine for the circuit court of appeals. Not such a good outcome was had by those four little children. No promotions for them to the circuit court of appeals. They had to go into the schools. The schools were totally boycotted by the white population. Mobs greeted those children every day for months. Some of you may remember those mobs and the federal marshals who had to escort those little girls to school.

One day I could not get to my doctor's office because the city was in such chaos that they had cordoned off the major roads. By this time I had begun to notice that there was some racial trouble in the South. I remember going to church one Sunday in Biloxi and seeing some trouble on the Gulf of Mexico along the water there. I road my bike to church that morning. I remember clearly stopping the bike and then looking over and seeing some people shouting and screaming at one another. I remember thinking to myself, "What are they fighting about?" and only

then, after a few minutes had elapsed, noticing that it was white people who were going after black people, and then thinking, "This must have something to do with some racial trouble here." Later that night I did emergency ward duty in our hospital as we all had to do, and I remember hearing the police of Biloxi talk about that incident. These policemen were friends of mine, because they used to sit there at night and have coffee in our air-conditioned hospital. And now I heard them talking in ways I had never heard them talking before. They told me that if this ever happened again they would kill the people who tried to swim there.

I went to a conference at the New Orleans Psychoanalytic Institute a couple of weeks after I had had trouble getting to my doctor. And I began to notice that in that room there was not a single black person. There wasn't a single black psychiatrist in New Orleans. I began to realize that I had never seen a black doctor in the various hospitals I had visited. I had never seen a black person in any of the restaurants in New Orleans, in any of the movie houses where I would sit. Furthermore, I began to realize I had never seen a black in any of the churches I had gone to in either New Orleans or Biloxi. Well, this was a bit of information being acquired by a Yankee who went South with no political interests in order to do his duty by his country and now is being frustrated in getting to see a doctor by riots in a city.

One day I was early for my appointment, and so I decided to go and see what was going on at one of those schools. Lo and behold, out-

side of the Frank School I saw this mob of people standing and screaming. It was two o'clock in the afternoon and I realized they were waiting for something. I stopped and asked one of the people what was happening. He answered, "She's coming out in a half an hour." I said, "Who's she?" And then I heard all the language about who she was. All the language. All the cuss words and the swear words and the foul language. And I thought to myself, I better stay and watch this, even if I don't get to see my doctor. I could not believe that people were saying these things and were going to do anything. Soon, out of the Frank School came a little girl, six years old. She was named Ruby Bridges. And beside her were federal marshals. I thought to myself, I've seen this on television. I've read about this in the *Times Picayune*. I think I even saw something in *Time* magazine and *Newsweek* about this. She came out and they started in. They went after her. They called her this, and they called her that. They brandished their fists. They told her she was going to die and they were going to kill her. And I waited when she left in a car, and I wondered who was going to come out of that school next. But then I found out no one else was in that school. The school had been totally boycotted by the white population. So here was a little black child of six who was going to an American elementary school all by herself in the fall of 1960. That is part of our American history.

Suddenly I thought to myself: you know, before I came down here I was interested in stress. I had done

some work in Boston at the Children's Hospital with children who had been stricken with polio during what was the last polio epidemic we will probably ever see in this country. I remember talking with men, women, and children stricken suddenly and paralyzed to the point that some of them could only breathe courtesy of iron lungs. I also remember the questions. Don't you all as ministers know the questions. Why? Why has this illness fallen upon me? The questions that Job asked and the questions that we all ask: Why? The unanswerable questions. So I talked with these people and wrote my reports and presented my psychiatric conclusions to the American Psychiatric Association in the awkward, stilted, jargon-riddled language that people like me learn in the name of education. I talked about the mechanisms of defense that we saw in these people. Some of them were resorting to denial. Some of them were resorting to reaction formations. Some of them were resorting to projections. And my wife would read this and say, "What do all these words mean?" Well, they had to do with the way people struggle with fear and apprehension and worse.

III

In New Orleans I thought to myself, why not do another study right here. Here is stress too—social stress. Here also is where the abstract mind and the ambitious mind go to work. I was finishing my training, and I figured, I can get in another little study here before I go home. I can present another paper at the American Psychiatric Association. I was

the American entrepreneur. All entrepreneurs do not work only for electronic companies. Some of them work for universities or hospitals.

I remember asking myself, how would I get to see Ruby. I decided it should not be too hard. I would just find out where she lives and go to talk with her. I was sure Ruby would want to talk to me. Why wouldn't anyone want to talk to me. I had been working in hospitals and clinics where people came all the time to talk to me. They would pay money and give of their time, they would leave their jobs in order to get to talk to someone. We never make home visits in those hospitals. It is always on our turf. The people come to our turf, we talk to them on our turf, and they leave our turf. Imagine getting some medical students to go and do some home visiting. (Although it might not be such a bad idea to get them, get all of us, out of those corridors of power.)

It took me more trouble than I expected, but I eventually got to those four families with the help of Kenneth Clark, a black psychologist in New York, and Thurgood Marshall, who was at that time the NAACP legal fund attorney for the case. My wife and I went to the Bridges' home and found the family was under terrific stress. Before this visit, I did not realize that we would be the first white people to go into those homes; they were poor homes in the eastern industrial part of New Orleans. I intended to ask questions of Mr. and Mrs. Bridges and of their daughter Ruby.

"Well, how are you doing, Ruby?" I would say to Ruby twice a week,

and she would say, "Well, I'm okay." "How is it going, Ruby?" "Well, it's okay." "Mrs. Bridges, how is Ruby doing?" "She's doing fine." I had learned these questions—I took training in pediatrics and child psychiatry. I knew how to ask these questions, and one expects children or their parents to answer them with some evidence of turmoil. "Mrs. Bridges, is Ruby sleeping okay?" "Oh, yes. Ruby's sleeping fine." "Are you sure she's sleeping fine?" "Yes." "Well, how is Ruby's appetite?" "Well, it's fine." "Are you sure she's eating well?" "Fine." "How do you think Ruby's doing with her friends when she comes home from school?" "Ruby's fine when she comes home. She plays and sometimes she reads from the books that she brings home, or tries to read the books. She's just in the first grade learning how to read." "Well, does Ruby seem upset at any time?" "No, Ruby doesn't seem too upset," said Mrs. Bridges.

Well, I would say to myself, maybe Mr. and Mrs. Bridges do not know how to pick up these symptoms. I had been used to having parents come to see me from all the well-to-do suburbs of Boston and you can be assured the parents there knew how to pick up the symptoms. They would come and tell me all about their children's difficulties. As for Ruby, she was probably more upset than she realized. Eventually she would realize it, or if she didn't, I would realize it. And I would tell her, and if not her, the world. There was a world waiting for our news.

Well, the days turned into weeks and the weeks turned into months. And one day the school teacher, who saw Ruby every day after all, all by

herself in the classroom, said to me, "You know, I don't understand this child. She seems so happy. She comes here so cheerfully." This teacher spoke about the way Ruby went through those mobs, escorted by the federal marshals. She went on, "She is always ready to go. She does her reading and her arithmetic." So I said, "Well, I'm a little puzzled myself, but I think that sometimes people under tremendous stress gird themselves mightily and it takes time sometimes to find out just how upset they are." Meanwhile, I was saying to my wife, "Maybe we better go up to Atlanta where they are going to start school desegregation at the high school level. There the children will talk. We'll find out more quickly what's happening to them." But then I remembered what I had learned as a resident in child psychiatry and what Anna Freud had taught us—you ask the children to do some drawing. Through their pictures perhaps they will tell you something. At the same time it is important to keep up the conversations.

Ruby did some drawings and they were interesting. She did show that she regarded white people as being bigger and stronger and black people as being vulnerable. And I would point this out to her and she would say, "Yes, they certainly are stronger, those white people." And I would think to myself, well, that is no great discovery for her. She seems to know this already. But I kept on asking her how she was doing and how she was getting on. And what I began to notice is that here is a girl who is six years old, whose parents are extremely poor, who are illiterate so that they do not even know how to

sign their names. They are going through tremendous strain, day after day, and they do not seem to be complaining, neither the parents nor the child. What a contrast with the well-to-do middle-class people I have seen in Boston whose children, for one reason or another—all of them white, by the way—were having all sorts of difficulties. Now how do you explain that, I would ask myself. And I did not know how to explain that. I was accumulating all this information, but I was getting rather puzzled and frustrated. I expected to see a range of symptomatology, to document it, to report on it, and to go on with my further career. The symptomatology did not seem to be developing. She was having no trouble sleeping or eating, nor were the other three children, all of them equally poor. The federal judge had selected them to go into these two schools on the basis of living near the schools.

Ruby Bridges came into New Orleans when she was three years old, brought by her parents who had been tenant farmers near Greenville. We would later learn, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, to call such people culturally disadvantaged and culturally deprived. Poor folk they were. Poor black folk.

When the Bridges family was told this was what they were going to do, they said, well, yes, we'll do what the federal judge orders. And so this began to happen in their lives. Mr. Bridges was a janitor. Mrs. Bridges, with three small children, before this court order had taken effect used to take care of those children, day by day, from morning to night. And then when she tucked those children

in, she would go off to other homes, get down on her knees, and scrub the floors. Then she would come home in the middle of the night and be ready for the next morning after just a few hours of sleep. What they both wanted for their children obviously was a better life than they had had.

IV

One day the school teacher said to me, "I saw Ruby talking to those people on the street this morning." By the way, this school teacher had no desire initially even to teach Ruby. She was ordered to do so by the federal judge on pain of losing her retirement benefits. But she had become a bit intrigued with this child as I guess I had become. She said, "Today I saw her stop for a minute and she seemed to be talking to the people in the street." Every morning at 8:00 there were about fifty people there waiting for her, and every afternoon another fifty or seventy-five.

After hearing the teacher's observation, I asked Ruby, "Did I see you talking to those people?" Ruby said, "Well, no, I wasn't talking to them." "But I saw you for a moment stop and I thought I saw your lips were moving." She said, "Oh, I was praying for them." "You were praying for them?" "Oh, yes," said Ruby. "Well, Ruby, why were you praying for them." "Well," Ruby said, "I pray for them every morning." The teacher asked one of the federal marshals if Ruby prayed for the crowds and he answered, "Oh, she does it twice a day. Sometimes I hear her praying for them when we're walking her to the car." Some of you may remem-

ber the Norman Rockwell picture of the little black child and the men in the dark gray flannel suits. That picture was modeled after Ruby Bridges. I knew I had to ask her more about these prayers.

We went to Ruby's home that night and I asked her, "Ruby, how was your day today?" She said, "It was okay." I asked, "Well, did you learn something new, or did the teacher give you a new book?" She said, "Yes, she gave me a new book." I said, "I was talking to your teacher today and she told me that she asked you about something when you came into school early in the morning." She said, "I don't remember." "Well, your teacher told me that she saw you talking to people in the street." Ruby said, "Oh, yes, I told her I wasn't talking to them. I was just saying a prayer for them." So I said, "Well, Ruby, you pray for the people there?" She said, "Oh, yes." I said, "Really?" She said, "Yes." I said, "Why do you do that?" And she said, "Because they need praying for." I said, "Do they?" And she said, "Oh, yes." I said, "Well, Ruby, why do you think they need you to pray for them." And she said, "Because I should." When I asked, "Why?" she repeated, "Because I should." Then Ruby's mother came into the room. She heard this line of inquiry, and said, "We tell Ruby that it's important that she pray for the people." I said, "You do, Mrs. Bridges?" She said, "Oh, yes. Ruby has them on her list of people she prays for at night." I said, "You do, Ruby, you pray for them at night too?" She said, "Oh, yes." I said, "Why do you do that?" And she said, "Well, because they need praying for." And

then Mrs. Bridges said to me, "In Sunday School Ruby has been told to pray for the people." I later found that the minister in this Baptist Church to which they went also prayed for the people. Publicly. Every Sunday.

I said to Mrs. Bridges, and then her husband later, "You know, it strikes me that that is a lot to ask of Ruby. I mean, given what she's going through." And they looked at me very confused. I said, "After all, given what she's going through, to ask her to pray." "Well, we're not asking her to pray for them because we want to hurt her or anything," said Mrs. Bridges, "but we think that we all have to pray for people like that, and we think Ruby should too." And then she looked at me and said, "Don't you think they need praying for?" I said, "Yes, I agree with you there. But I still think it's a little much to ask Ruby to pray for them." You notice here the intersection of two sensibilities in American life.

We left the house that night, my wife and I, and went to a bar. (I could probably, if I were more candid in my writing, write a whole essay on the methodological value of whiskey occasionally in the social sciences, although I do not want to offend any of you with this.) In any event, we sat there talking and I said to my wife, "I don't understand why this girl should be praying for them—she's got enough to bear without that." My wife said, "Well, that's you speaking, but maybe she feels differently." I said, "I'm sure she does, but the question is why would her parents ask this little girl, going through what she does, to take on the position of this kind of under-

standing, and a prayerful understanding at that." My wife then said to me this, "Well, what would you do if you were going through a mob like that twice a day." I answered, "I can tell you one thing I wouldn't do, and that is pray for the people who were doing what they're doing to Ruby, or trying to do to Ruby, telling her they were going to kill her, for instance."

Then my wife constructed the following scenario. "I can just picture you trying to get into the Harvard Faculty Club through mobs. What would you do if to get into that Club in the morning and leave it in the afternoon you had to go through those mobs and even the police wouldn't protect you." They wouldn't, by the way, in New Orleans. Hence the need for federal marshals. I assured her I would not pray for those people. What we decided I would do was the following. The first thing would be, of course, to call the police. Ruby couldn't call the police. The police were not ready to help Ruby. The police were on the side of the mobs. The second thing I would do is get a lawyer, and fast. Ruby had no lawyer. Ruby had not even been born at the hands of a doctor in Mississippi. No professional people were working for the Bridges family. The third thing my wife decided I would do after trying to get the police and a lawyer is immediately to turn on this crowd with language and knowledge. Who are these people anyway? They are sick. They are marginal, socio-economically. You know those hyphenated expressions: psycho-social, socio-cultural, socio-economic, psycho-historical. But Ruby did not have the language of soci-

ology, psychology, psychiatry, or psychoanalysis to turn on this crowd. She couldn't call them names. She would not even call them rednecks. The fourth thing we agreed that I would do, of course, is to write an article about what I had gone through. Maybe I would even turn it into a book. But Ruby was just learning to read and write.

Now, some of you have probably been studying developmental psychology and have heard about moral development in children. And if you have, you are aware of the fact that a little girl like Ruby, at six, is going through several stages in life. At six she is going through something called the Oedipal complex—various kinds of trying relations at home. And at six in the human development scheme, when it comes to moral development she is in a pre-cognitive stage, pre-moral stage. We are told that at six, children obey orders reflexively. Their morality is based on fear and submission. They are not thinking through the moral situation. They are doing what they are told to do. They are obeying their parents or other fearful or powerful authorities. As one gets to be twelve or thirteen one moves into another stage. Ultimately in all these stages is the final top stage—post-cognitive almost. But it is the very top stage. Only a few people get to the top stages, like Gandhi or Dr. Schweitzer. But most people, we are told, are kind of stuck in the middle rungs of this theoretical development scheme. And children of six are way down on this ladder.

Meanwhile Ruby and, by the way, many other children we got to know in Little Rock and Clinton, Ten-

nessee, and later in Atlanta, who came from humble homes and who were black people in the South in the 1960s, again and again showed this inclination. What was it? Personal dignity? Prayerful dignity? Once, a couple of weeks after the first time I mentioned it, I asked her about this praying again. "Ruby, you know, I'm still puzzled about this. I'm trying to figure out why you think you should be the one to pray for such people, given what they do to you twice a day five days a week." And she then said, "Well, especially it should be me." And I said, "Why you especially?" And she answered, "Because if you're going through what they're doing to you, you're the one who should be praying for them." And then she quoted to me what she had heard in church that Sunday from the minister. He said that Jesus went through a lot of trouble and he said about the people who were causing this trouble, "Forgive them, because they don't know what they're doing." And now little Ruby was saying this in 1961, about the people in the streets of New Orleans. How is someone like me supposed to account for that, psychologically or any other way?

Here let me get very sophisticated and say that perhaps, although Ruby was saying the words, did she really understand what they mean? When I tried this observation out on my wife, she said, "Well, at least she was saying them. I know a lot of people with a lot more money and power and white skin to boot and a hundred years of education who wouldn't say it." I said, "Me included. I wouldn't." "That's the point," she responded. So now what was I supposed to do? Call Ruby and her family masoch-

ists? Say that they were making statements they didn't comprehend? That they had not studied in college, had not read the implications of what Christ meant when he asked this forgiveness of his tormentors, as interpreted by X, Y, or Z philosopher-theologian?

Meanwhile, here were these people screaming at little Ruby. My friends kept telling me they were sick, and of course I knew they must be sick. We always use that word in the 20th century to describe all sorts and conditions of people. Who were they, these people in the streets of New Orleans? Were they schizophrenics? Were they psychopaths and sociopaths?

V

At this point a funny thing happened. We went up to Atlanta the following year where schools were desegregated—four high schools now. We went around with a policeman to the four schools, and there was not a single person on the streets heckling anyone. The students all went into the schools by themselves, without any federal marshals. And I couldn't understand why the streets of Atlanta were so quiet. Where were the mobs in Atlanta in 1961? That's the historian's question, the journalist's question, and our question too.

The mobs weren't there for several reasons. There was a different newspaper in Atlanta than in New Orleans. The *Constitution* in 1961 was not the *Times Picayune*. Ralph Emerson McGill, the editor of the *Constitution*, was an extraordinary figure in American history. Seven days a week one could read those coura-

geous front-page editorials—his own. The mayor of Atlanta was different than the mayor of New Orleans. We had a different president by 1961, and more importantly, a different Attorney General. And the whole climate of opinion in Atlanta was different from the climate of opinion in New Orleans and the people of Atlanta got the message. They were not going to tolerate what New Orleans had been quite willing to tolerate. No federal judge was burned in effigy in the Georgia legislature. It was a different climate. And isn't it strange how thousands, indeed millions, of people picked up that message and their behavior changed. You have heard about how hard it is to change behavior. How long and hard people like me have to work through certain people before we can get certain changes, and yet a whole city was able to operate in such a way that there were no mobs in the streets.

Later when I would talk about the people in the streets in New Orleans, everyone would tell me how ignorant they were. They were rednecks, the kinds of people who would behave that way. That sounded convincing to me. I was brought up hearing that the truth will make us free, that we need to learn what the wise people have said. And these poor people in the streets, they were ignorant. They lacked education. It sounded plausible.

The only thing is that one day my wife and I started recalling some of our 20th century history. Some of you may remember Germany in the 1920s and 1930s. You may remember that Germany did not have a large population of culturally dis-

advantaged and culturally deprived children or adults. Germany had virtually no illiteracy. It was one of the most educated nations in the history of the world. There were great universities in a culture rich and finely textured. It was the nation of Goethe and Schiller and Freud and Einstein. There were impressive scientists, philosophers, social scientists, artists, musicians. And throughout the land there were the schools. There was no large population of migrant farm workers or black people who had not been able to be educated. It was a distinguished nation. Was there ever a more civilized nation? And then Hitler took over in January 1933. If you read German history carefully, you will know that within months, the Nazis, the murderers who wronged Germany, had working for them and with them lawyers, doctors, journalists, college professors, and, I regret to say, ministers, theologians, philosophers, psychoanalysts, psychiatrists. These professionals were working for them, agreeing to do their bidding, signing the statements they asked them to sign. You must know of Bonhoeffer's travail. He was the son of a psychiatrist who became a minister. There is research even now going on about the role of the doctors of the Nazis in the camps, in the colleges and schools. Even the German educational institutions did not make these people impervious to mob behavior and meanness and spite and violence.

Meanwhile, there's little Ruby, who had taken no courses in moral analysis or systematic ethics. She hadn't read all the books that we treasure. And yet somehow she walked by that mob praying for those people. Every

day. A year later, when schools had been reluctantly desegregated by the white people, she kept on praying. And quoting from the Bible. Her Bible. Her parents' Bible. Her people's Bible. And quoting those statements, those sayings, those stories that Jesus uttered in Galilee.

VI

I teach students in the Northeast. We have courses in moral analysis. We ask if moral analysis leads to a moral life, and if you study any moral analysis will your life be good and decent. Walker Percy puts it very nicely in his novel, *The Second Coming*. One can get all A's and flunk life. Even A's in ethics and moral philosophy, not to mention psychology and psychiatry. I was at a meeting in a Boston hospital when residents were being selected. I heard the doctors with the old refrain, "You know, some of our best doctors don't necessarily do well here in medical school. Some of those who do poorly make very good doctors." Am I here to bring anti-intellectualism to you? A kind of know-nothing-ism? No, but we do have a lot to learn about what makes for good people in the living of life. I do not mean good people in the way my profession, or developmental psychologists, would say. For example, "Well, let's see, Ruby, we have some tests here for you. We'll find out about the stage of your moral development. Answer these various scenarios that we're presenting to you. What would you do under these circumstances. We will then grade you and give you a score." These may be very interesting, hypothetical scenarios which invite intellectual rumination, deliberation, and choice.

But do we know that someone who does very well at answering all those scenarios put to one in a laboratory or in a clinic or in a research building is then going to go out into the street and be honorable in everyday life? This ought to haunt us.

I remember when I was in college coming back from our organic chemistry tests. We would come back to the room and would talk to one another and about ourselves. And there would be a woman there, cleaning our classrooms and making our beds. We had a name for these women in the Harvard of the 1950s. We called them biddies. They were our biddies. In 1967 I met a woman in Waltham, Massachusetts, when I had returned from the South and was trying to find out what was happening in the Northern cities. This woman told me that her sister had worked at Harvard about the time I was a student there. And I began to realize that her sister must have been a biddie. We never knew the name of the woman who did this for us because she was just our biddie. She cleaned up after us. And if we were very thoughtful that day we might thank her, but I don't want to remember how many times we never thanked her. And I don't want to remember how many times we had smashed a beer bottle or two in the fireplace, knowing that she would clean up after us. After all, she was being paid to do that. We would give her a big tip at Christmas time. And I don't want to remember how many times we would go downstairs into the dining hall and people would be standing there waiting to give us food, us lucky ones on a planet, 80% of

which can not take the next meal for granted. And we hotshot students would look at the food coming and would often say, "Yuk. Who wants this terrible food. I'm going to go eat out." Never thank you or please. Never any conversation. Who are these people waiting on us? Well, they are just waiting on us.

Meanwhile, of course, we were taking courses. Courses, for instance, in psychology where we would learn what empathy is. I can spell out what empathy means. If you could define empathy, you would get an A in a course by writing for a whole hour on empathy. And I could tell you about tribes in Africa and the kingship structure. But I couldn't tell you the biddy's name. And we didn't seem to be very empathic toward her or the people waiting on us from the cafeteria. We weren't asked to do that, because that wasn't part of the curriculum, core or otherwise. It still

isn't. I watch my children reading these books by great philosophers and then I wonder, how can one teach so that what one is teaching engages with a life.

What does this leave you with now? The great paradox that Christ reminded us about is that sometimes those who are lonely and hurt and vulnerable, meek, to use the word, are touched by grace and can show the most extraordinary kind of dignity and in that sense inherit not only the next world, but even at times moments of this one. Meanwhile, the rest of us, who have so much knowledge and money and power, look on confused, trying to mobilize the intellect, figure things out, in some way, so they'll make sense to us. It is not so figurable, is it? These things are mysteries, and as Flannery O'Connor said, "Mystery is a great embarrassment to the modern mind."

Theological Conflicts of the 1920s and 1930s in the Presbyterian Church and on the Princeton Seminary Campus

by EDWIN H. RIAN

Dr. Edwin H. Rian, now living in retirement in Alexandria, Virginia, has enjoyed a distinguished career in a number of Presbyterian institutions, including serving as president of Jamestown College and as vice-president of Trinity University. In the midst of several retirements, he was invited by President James I. McCord to return to Princeton as a special assistant to the president. He served in this capacity for twelve years.

Princetoniana

For a number of years, Dr. Edwin H. Rian has been giving an informal lecture in Professor Edward A. Dowey's class in Presbyterian history. Dr. Rian, now 84, lived through the years of the 1920s and 1930s that saw this seminary divided. As a participant in what has been called the "fundamentalist-modernist" controversy, Dr. Rian left the seminary, became a leading critic of Princeton Seminary, and was finally unfrocked by the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America.

In succeeding years, Dr. Rian came to see these issues and events in quite a different light. He ultimately confessed the errors of his ways and asked the church he had bitterly attacked to ordain him again. He speaks here of the way those whom he attacked received him warmly again into the fellowship of the church.

This lecture has been edited for publication in the *Bulletin* so that our readers may hear a first-hand account by one of the participants who lived through these tumultuous events.

THIS lecture is more or less what you would call a spiritual pilgrimage, because I was a participant in the conflict in the Presbyterian Church from the time I came on the campus in 1924 until I left the church and later returned. Most of the people who were here in my day have gone. I suppose one reason I am invited back annually is that I am one of the few persons alive today who actively participated in the conflict that is often called the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy.

When I started at Princeton Sem-

inary in September of 1924, I came early to take the Greek examination. That first night, I arrived after the offices had closed, and therefore didn't know where I could stay for the night. I was sitting on the steps of Brown Hall when a gentleman with gray hair and gray beard came by, asking what I was looking for. I told him my predicament, and he invited me to spend the night with his family. It turned out that this man was Dr. John Davis, who wrote the dictionary called, *Davis's Dictionary*. Later, Dr. Henry S. Gehman revised it and

it was renamed the *Westminster Dictionary of the Bible*.

I spent the next three years on the Princeton Seminary campus. In those days, one could be ordained as an evangelist, even though one did not have a church. So, just before commencement in 1927, I was ordained in the First Presbyterian Church, now called Nassau Presbyterian Church. Participating in the service were President J. Ross Stevenson and professors Charles Erdman, Frederick Loetscher, and J. Gresham Machen, who was Assistant Professor of New Testament.

At graduation I won the fellowship in church history, one of six fellowships awarded in those years. Of the six fellowships, five were won by men who would later form Westminster Seminary, and the sixth by a Lutheran who later became president of a Lutheran seminary in the midwest. The wonderful thing about those fellowships was that one could choose to go to a university or theological seminary for further study. I decided to go to Germany.

I

Now I want to turn to a discussion of the forces which caused the controversy at Princeton Theological Seminary and in the Presbyterian church in the 1920s.

The first force was rooted in the majority of the faculty who wanted Princeton Seminary to be the standard-bearer of the Reformed faith interpreted as the strict Calvinism for which Princeton Seminary has stood for many years. These members of the faculty believed there had been a continuity from Archibald Alexander to Charles Hodge to Ben-

jamin Warfield to Francis Landey Patton. Their theological orientation was what I would call Reformed Scholasticism.

On the other hand, J. Ross Stevenson, who was a fine gentleman, had been made president in 1914. He had a different idea of what Princeton Seminary should be. Stevenson said the seminary should represent the whole church in its spectrum of theology.

To see this division between the faculty and President Stevenson in perspective, we need to remember certain historical events and movements. Let me name them.

The first one was the Old School and New School controversy. In 1801 the General Association of Connecticut and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the USA entered into a plan of union. In this way a minister could serve in both churches. Samuel Hopkins was the theological leader of Connecticut Congregationalism. This group denied the depravity of man and denied that man was separated from God because of a relationship to Adam, the first man. Albert Barnes of the First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia and Lyman Beecher of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati were charged with heresy on these points, but were not suspended from the church. In 1837 the General Assembly of our church abrogated this plan of union. The Old School held the balance of power and the synods of Western Reserve, Utica, Geneva, and Genesee, strongholds of the New School, were excised from the church. After the Civil War, the two parties forgot their differences and reunited in 1869.

The division between the faculty and President Stevenson was also affected by a revision of the Westminster Confession of Faith in 1903. Henry van Dyke was chairman of the revision committee, which worked to emphasize the doctrine of election, which was different, the universal design of Christ's atoning work, and infant salvation to all. Actually the attempt to revise the Confession of Faith had begun as early as 1889 with fifteen presbyteries organizing and petitioning the General Assembly. This effort failed due to men like Patton and Warfield at Princeton Seminary. In these same years the heresy trial of Charles A. Briggs of Union Theological Seminary in New York City, in part about inerrancy of scripture, resulted in his suspension from the Presbyterian ministry in 1893.

Then came the Declaratory Statement of 1903, which had to do with the love of God for all men unto salvation, instead of particularism of some unto salvation. This passed and became part of the doctrinal statements of the church.

The attempted union with other protestant bodies, which failed in 1918, also contributed to the division between the faculty and the president. So these three things helped bring about the explanation for the difference between Dr. Stevenson and the faculty of the seminary.

The second force that caused the conflict in the Presbyterian church was the Henry Emerson Fosdick affair. Fosdick was a Baptist minister who was invited to preach in the First Presbyterian Church in New York City in 1922. He preached his

famous sermon, "Shall the Fundamentalists Win." This sermon caused tremendous furor in the New York City Presbytery and in the church at large. Clarence McCartney, who was pastor in Philadelphia and later in Pittsburgh, organized meetings throughout the nation. They tried to pass an overture against Dr. Fosdick preaching, stating that every preacher who preached in a Presbyterian church should conform to the Westminster Confession of Faith. The General Assembly called upon New York Presbytery to require preaching and teaching at the First Church to conform to the Westminster Confession. But the presbytery did little to carry out this mandate.

The question has been raised, why is it that Machen became so prominent in this controversy. During the Fosdick affairs, he wrote a book called *Christianity and Liberalism* which was published in 1923, making Machen one of the leaders of orthodox protestantism. Here is one little note that Walter Lippman, who was one of the outstanding journalists of his day, said about the book by Machen: "For its acumen, for its saliency, and for its wit, this cool and stringent defense of orthodox Protestantism is, I think, the best popular argument produced by either side in the current controversy." So you can understand how that elevated Machen to a place of prominence in the church.

The third force that caused this division, especially in the seminary, was the Auburn Affirmation. The signers opposed the five doctrines which Dr. Reilly of Minneapolis issued as a fundamentalist creed in

1918. These five fundamentals included: the inerrancy of scripture, the virgin birth, the substitutionary theory of the atonement, bodily resurrection, and miracles. The Auburn Affirmation asserted that it is wrong for the church to elevate these or any five doctrines as a test for ordination. These are only theories of the truths and should not be used as a test for ordination. In this connection I remember an incident in Machen's life. I suppose I was closer to Dr. Machen than any man. And so, when Westminster Seminary was launched we arranged for Dr. Machen to give lectures on the essentials of the Christian faith. I said, "Dr. Machen, you will have to give a lecture on the inerrancy of scripture." Note carefully his reply: "Ed, if I give a lecture on the inerrancy of scripture, I will lose credibility among the scholars in the theological world." Now, he did not say that he did not believe it, he did not say he would not espouse it, because in his writings he did, and publicly he did. But it showed me, when I look back on the incident, that he was a little leery of that doctrine.

What happened when the Auburn Affirmation was issued? In the General Assembly of 1924 no action was taken against the Auburn Affirmation because, even though Dr. McCartney was elected moderator, the conservatives did not have a majority. Dr. McCartney and others organized meetings around the country, especially in New York and Philadelphia, with the result that the General Assembly appointed a committee of fifteen to study the condition in the church and its causes.

In 1926 and 1927 the General Assembly committee issued its report, which urged brotherly consideration. No one was brought to trial.

The fourth force was the reorganization of Princeton Theological Seminary. Let me here give you some local color on the seminary campus, which in those days had only 225 students—all men. Dr. Stevenson became the second president in 1914, succeeding Francis Landey Patton, who was president from 1902 until 1913. Patton thought of himself as "first among equals." He did not see himself as president as we think of it today. Stevenson, on the other hand, wanting the seminary to represent the whole church, worked to change the policy of the seminary.

The turmoil started in part because there was a rift between Dr. Machen and the majority of the faculty versus Drs. Stevenson and Erdman. Loetscher, Smith, Caspar Wister Hodge, John Davis, and Bennie Green took very little part in the controversy.

Machen commanded quite a following among students upon coming to the seminary. His book, *Christianity and Liberalism*, was widely read by students before coming to the campus, and his New Testament grammar was used for many years as much in liberal as in conservative seminaries. Machen was quite brilliant in his fashion. He was incisive and hit the doctrines head on. He and Dr. Armstrong spent more time teaching us the liberal rather than their own conservative point of view.

Another reason for Machen's popularity among students was his openness with them. Every time he

stayed on the campus for the week-end, he had a Checker Club meet in his room on the top floor of Alexander Hall and everyone was invited. In addition, he was very generous. He came from a wealthy family and had plenty of money. He used to stack up all kinds of choice fruits, apples, oranges, grapes, and nuts, and he left his door open even when he was not home, telling us to go in and help ourselves. That made him very popular with students. Machen also was the best checker player and the best tennis player on the campus in that day. In these ways he related to students beyond the classroom.

What about President Stevenson and Professor Erdman? I like both men, but as a whole the students regarded Dr. Stevenson as more or less of a church politician. That did not mean he was bad, but meant that he knew his way around in the bureaucracy of the church. Dr. Erdman was a wonderful Christian man, and I remember how we enjoyed going over to his house, something students did often. He was a charming gentleman.

There was also a great division in the student body in those days. In 1924 a conference of the Middle Atlantic Association of Students was held at Drew University. The Princeton delegation returned with a report that certain doctrines, such as the trustworthiness of the Bible, the deity of Christ, and the Virgin birth, had been slighted. As a result the student body, which was quite conservative, decided to join in forming a new association of students. They met in Pittsburgh in 1925 to found the League of Evangelical Students. President Stevenson op-

posed this organization because he said it would disassociate the students of this seminary from the other Presbyterian seminaries. But the majority of the faculty was very much in favor of the League.

The straw that broke the camel's back occurred in 1929. Up until that time, there had been two Boards of the seminary. There was a Board of Trustees to control the property and a Board of Directors that directed the affairs of the seminary. Stevenson wanted one board for its two purposes. In 1926, the General Assembly appointed a committee of five to study conditions in Princeton Seminary and report back to the General Assembly. In 1929, this special committee recommended that there be one board for the seminary.

This decision was made in the midst of controversy already existing on the seminary campus, heightening the tensions. And so it was that Machen, Oswald Allis, and Wilson decided to withdraw and appealed to students to join them in the formation of Westminster Seminary.

Westminster Theological Seminary was founded on a property in Philadelphia owned by Dr. Allis. About fifty students withdrew from Princeton Seminary, among them five of my classmates, to join in the formation of this new seminary. My involvement began when the faculty members asked me, as a student just out of seminary and just returned from Germany, to join them in affirming the need for this institution. My first job was to go around the country and raise funds for Westminster Seminary. I went from coast to coast and border to border to build up backing for the seminary. It was

a struggle, but I believed in the cause.

When we withdrew, we decided to form an Independent Board for Presbyterian Foreign Missions, of which I was the first secretary. We thought that the established Board of Foreign Missions was too liberal. This action led to great turmoil in the church. I say this with great regret. We young men—I was only in my early thirties—tied up the church for about five years. We studied the Book of Order. We learned how to tie up presbyteries. I remember one General Assembly in Cincinnati. The *New York Times* sent what was called a by-line writer. In my day the by-line writer was a special kind of reporter. And they sent him to report on the General Assembly and the fact that we were going to be ousted. It developed that he took our side, and every reporter's column in the *New York Times* was in our favor and against the General Assembly. The General Assembly finally passed a resolution against the *Times*.

In 1936, a judicial commission reported to the General Assembly that we should be put out of the church. But more than that, the commission said we should be unfrocked, which meant that our ordination was made null and void in the Presbyterian Church. And so it was that in 1936 Machen and several other members of the Independent Board, including myself, were unfrocked by the church. We responded by forming another church, calling it the Presbyterian Church of America. However, the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. brought a suit against us, and a court finally declared that our name was too close to the church we had left. We then chose the name, the Or-

thodox Presbyterian Church, which exists to this day.

II

What is my evaluation of the conflict? First, we were fighting Christians and not the world, the flesh, and the devil. What we did in retrospect was to elevate certain convictions and declare them to be essential to a church. If you follow the controversies of the past decade you can see a similar pattern. For example, a small group of Episcopal churches withdrew from the main body of the Episcopal Church a few years ago. The group that withdrew said the Episcopal Church was not giving enough emphasis to the transcendence of God but was rather stressing immanence, God's presence in the world. Now that issue certainly is not essential. Then there is the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod. They had a conflict recently about the inerrancy of scripture. Like the Episcopalian episode, those who withdrew could not say that the other group was not Christian. And the Missouri Synod could not say that men like Martin Marty were not Christian. In recent years churches withdrew from what was the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. But those that withdrew could not say that the rest of the Southern Presbyterian Church was not Christian. So I say that these divisions are on what I call non-essential doctrines of the Christian church. And that is what has happened in the history of the church again and again.

Second, there is a self-righteousness and an intolerance in the attitude of withdrawal. I take myself as an example. We thought we had a

corner on the truth and a pipeline to God. We thought we were absolutely right and the rest of the world was wrong. We felt like we were on Mount Olympus looking down on the rest of the Christians. I think of the attitude of my parents and my sister and her husband. They all said, "You can't tell us we were not theologians, that Machen is right and everybody else is wrong." And that's how far off we were. We were so sure that we were right.

Third, there was a certain rigidity of doctrine. We had a closed system of doctrine. We thought that the Westminster Confession of Faith was inspired. But creeds are dated and reflect the views of the time. The Westminster Confession is a human document. God is the source of truth, but our views of truth are in a process of development. If you look back at the church Fathers, to a man they all opposed separation from the church for these issues—including Charles Hodge, which may surprise some people.

Now, what is my conclusion? I returned to the church in June 1947, to the presbytery of Philadelphia in Wayne, Pennsylvania, and I was re-ordained. And of course it made the headlines in the newspapers. Front page in Philadelphia. And when I returned to the church, I did it because of a personal study of Calvin's Book IV of the *Institutes*. I did not try to influence anyone. I decided this on my own. I went to the church and I made a confession of my sins and they accepted it and they re-ordained me in June 1947. And the strange thing is that the men who were my greatest opponents turned out to be my best friends. They said,

"Ed, the thing for you to do is to get away from Philadelphia." I had an invitation to go down to Trinity University as Vice President and I accepted. I travelled all over the state of Texas lecturing on Christian education on behalf of Trinity University. I am happy to say that Trinity University now has fifty-two buildings because we helped them move from Wachahachie, Texas, down to San Antonio. Today they have a growing endowment which is remarkable.

After I came back into the church and was serving at Trinity, I invited Dr. John Mackay to Trinity to lecture. Dr. Mackay turned out to be a great friend. He put his stamp of approval upon my return to the church, and asked me to come up to Princeton to lecture at the Institute of Theology, which I did. Those lectures resulted in a book called *Christianity and American Education*. Since then I have been associated with two other Presbyterian colleges, two seminaries, and the Institute for Educational Planning. Dr. McCord invited me to come back to Princeton as assistant to the president, where I served twelve years. I was privileged to help raise some funds to increase the endowment of the seminary as a means of helping students in the future.

I have been subjected in fifty years to the right and to the left in theology and in higher education. I believe I know the main arguments on both sides. My final word is that truth is like a house. It has sides on it to give meaning and unity, but it does not have a roof. Thomism has a roof. If you accept its premises, you can deduce everything. But the reason

why we have no roof on the house of truth is while truth is eternal in God, our interpretation of the truth and our insight into the truth is a growing thing. As we understand the world better and as we understand ourselves better, then we have a greater conception of what the truth is. And that is what I pray for each one of you: have an open mind so you will understand the truth.

I have two texts to leave with you.

"God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." That is number one in my book. Number two: "Love the Lord thy God"—there is the perpendicular relationship—"and thy neighbor as thyself"—the horizontal. Your preaching and teaching should have both, the personal relationship to God and the horizontal aspect of your relationship to society, to your neighbors, and to the world.

Hymns and Theology: A Little Case Study

by HUGH T. KERR and
DAVID A. WEADON*

WE MAY reasonably suppose there is some discernible correlation between the hymns we sing and our theology. If, as Freud said of jokes, we tend to laugh at what most disturbs us, cannot we say that the hymns we sing reflect our most profound beliefs? Well, maybe so. But then again, maybe not. The relation between hymns and theology seems evident, and yet on further examination, elusive, ambiguous, and even inclusive.

Hymn singing usually belongs to corporate worship. It is communal musical praise. Its context is the church, the fellowship of the faithful, the communion of the saints and sinners. We do not sing alone or by ourselves or in solo but in chorus with all those who have gone before and all who will in the distant future come after us. As many of the classic collects remind us, when we pray for the church, we include ourselves in the midst of the vast cavalcade of Christians from the beginning of time to the end.

Dr. Hugh T. Kerr, a native of Pittsburgh, is an alumnus of Princeton University, Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, and the University of Edinburgh. He is Benjamin B. Warfield Professor of Theology emeritus at Princeton Theological Seminary, and editor of Theology Today.

David A. Weadon received the B.M. and M.M. degrees from Westminster Choir College, where he was a student of the late Erik Routley. He is currently director of music and organist at Princeton Theological Seminary.

The Christian faith is a singing religion. The Bible contains not only history and doctrine but the Psalms of David, the Nativity songs, Hosannas, and Hallelujahs. Paul admonished the early Christians: "speak to one another in psalms, hymns, and song; sing and make music in your hearts" (Eph. 5:19, NEB). And in every age, the Christian church has followed the Apostle's advice, and the history of hymnody parallels the history of doctrine.

What, we may now ask, is the relation in our own day between hymns and theology? Do the doctrinal emphases of our creeds and confessions find expression in the hymns we sing? Or, to put it the other way around, do the hymns we sing express their own kind of theology regardless of our doctrinal tradition? The ambiguous aspect of these questions emerges when we consider that ordinarily hymns are chosen *for* us (and only occasionally *by* us) out of the common corpus at hand, and for calendar and liturgical contexts, as well as for all sorts of quirky, personal, or adventitious reasons.

Hymns for corporate worship are almost always selected by the pastor,

*Reprinted by permission from *Reformed Liturgy & Music*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (Winter 1984).

in consultation, one hopes, with the church musician, and "assigned," so to say, to the congregation. Except for some types of hymn sings and Welsh-style *eisteddfods*, the members of the congregation do not choose the hymns or, we may add, the theology which the hymns intrinsically express. Maybe congregations should have more say in what hymns are selected, but the fact is that they seldom do, and, if given the chance, many pastors and most musicians would pale at the prospect—and the possible results.

So what, we may ask, happens? Imagine a typical Sunday morning service. There will be three hymns: one of adoration and praise; the second, reflective or topical; the third, a dismissal of the faithful into the world. This, we may believe, suggests a generally acceptable structure. Indeed, it may well be the paradigm of all Christian worship anywhere, and there may be psychological and symbolic as well as liturgical and theological reasons for this clustered arrangement.

But there can be a dozen variables in the paradigm: musical sophistication of pastor, church musician, people; social and demographic locus of the congregation; hymnals in the pew racks; knowledge of new resources and copyright laws; theological tilt; concern, if any, for special issues such as peace, politics, the poor, or inclusive language. In addition to all these flexible ingredients, there is the always sensitive connection between music/words and tunes/hymns. The level of musical awareness for pastor and musician can vary, sometimes with discordant

effect upon the singing congregation.

As a case study in this ambiguous nexus, let us look at a list of about seventy-five-plus hymns selected and sung at Princeton Theological Seminary during the daily chapel period for the first semester 1982. These services may not be typical of most church services, but the hymn paradigm mentioned above probably pertains both in seminary chapels and local churches.

Certain details and specifications may be noted: (1) chapel at Princeton Seminary is scheduled five times a week at mid-morning for twenty minutes; (2) on *Mondays*, the leader is either the President of the Seminary or the Seminary Pastor; on *Tuesdays*, the students are in charge; on *Wednesdays*, one of the choirs sings in a service of prayer, praise, and the Word—the Director of Music being responsible; on *Thursdays*, members of the faculty lead; and on *Fridays*, there are opportunities for special kinds of worship, with Holy Communion celebrated monthly; (3) the director of the chapel program and the organist and choir director supervise but do not dictate the structure of the services; (4) the list of hymns sung during the test period is appended at the conclusion of this article; (5) three hymnals were in use, *The Hymnbook* (1955), *The Worshipbook* (1970), and *More Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (1971); (6) since we are talking about the first semester of the academic year, the only specific seasonal or liturgical accents (apart from the overall umbrella of the last Sundays after Pentecost) related to All Saints' Day, Thanksgiving

ing, and Advent (the choirs, on Wednesdays, use the Presbyterian Lectionary for the lessons, and hymns are often chosen with these lessons in mind).

If we ask what kinds of religious and theological issues seminarians bring with them to chapel, we immediately sense some discrepancy between campus theology and chapel hymnology. Students today, if we judge rightly, come to seminary with certain definite convictions about the Bible as the Word of God, Jesus Christ as Divine Savior, the inspiring power of the Holy Spirit, the normative value of personal experience, and the Gospel ethic of a simple life-style. The doctrinal temperature tends to register an "evangelical" zone, comparable with their home churches.

This again sets up an ambiguous grid, for there are all kinds of seminarians from all kinds of backgrounds. Trying to typify the contemporary seminarian is like trying to describe the typical church member today. But few students come to Princeton Seminary these days to test the philosophical truth of Christian faith or to equip themselves for ministries of social justice or to advance the ecumenical movement. Twenty-five years ago they might have identified, theologically, with Reinhold Niebuhr, Karl Barth, or Paul Tillich, but such names now get classified under history of doctrine.

Today's seminarians are more likely to be concerned about the interaction between biblical criticism and personal faith, the imperatives of the Gospel and the structures of institutions, the professionalism of ministry, and the instinct for spirituality and personal relationships.

The "discrepancy" mentioned above about seminarians' postulations, religious and theological, and the kinds of hymns sung in chapel can be explored by noting omissions as well as emphases. For the most part, the hymns chosen do not reflect the current student interest in the Bible, personal experience, the Holy Spirit, or the ethic of a simple life-style. The hymnals available certainly have something to do with this discrepancy, except in the case of personal religious experience. Curiously, the "second hymn" which should fall into this category has very little to do with the older, nineteenth century personal piety, of which every hymnal has a large selection. A few of the old favorites, such as "Beneath the Cross of Jesus," "Jesus, Thou Joy of Loving Hearts," "Sun of My Soul, Thou Saviour Dear," were chosen, as we happen to know, by older faculty or visiting ministers, not by students.

On the positive side, the one overarching hymnic emphasis on the basis of this chapel inventory relates to adoration and praise. This is obvious not only for the "first hymn" but for many others as well. Theologically, what such hymns seem to reflect is a strong sense of divine transcendence and the assurance of God's creative and redemptive purpose. Here music and theology go hand in hand, for the declaratory tone of the theology is often matched with vigorous and robust tunes. The same can be said for many of the "third level" hymns with their strong note of commitment and dismissal into the world.

The psychology of this kind of assertive singing in contrast, say, to

the quieter and slower paced personal experience hymns could make an intriguing study in the interconnections of words and music with attitudes and moods. But of more immediate moment is the discrepancy between this affirmative, doxological hymn singing and the personal faith of seminarians as well as the theology they study in their classrooms and textbooks.

It should be noted that there are weekly opportunities during the semester for "student music" as "voluntaries" before and after services. On these occasions, many "spiritual songs," usually accompanied by guitar or piano, are presented. Unless the music is unfamiliar or recently composed, all students present can "join in." Most of these songs come from "youth group" backgrounds and are personally identified with individual conversion experiences. Some in the seminary community believe this type of music should be restricted to youth group settings rather than included in the regularly scheduled chapel services. In any case, today's seminarian has another form of musical personal piety beyond the German and nineteenth century romantic pietism of a former generation.

Reflecting for a moment on the many hymns of adoration and praise on our list, we must nevertheless observe that no one could think that "transcendence" by any stretch of the imagination belongs at the top of contemporary theological priorities. Kierkegaard's "infinite qualitative difference," Barth's "wholly other," and Tillich's "the God above the God of theism" have been replaced with notions of accessible, domesticated

deity. This is reflected today in our easygoing, informal prayers, in our casual "assurance" of pardon, and in the intimate, personal closeness of Jesus. In *The Worshipbook* (1970), for example, there are prayers for just about everything and everyone, including addicts, divorce, prostitutes, and racketeers. But there is no entry in the "Guide for the Use of Prayers" to "adoration" or "ascription of praise."

One might assume that the heavy accent on hymns of adoration and praise reflects the Reformed doctrine of the sovereignty of God. The newly published *NCC Inclusive Language Lectionary* (1983) makes frequent use of the word "Sovereign" (as "Sovereign One" or "Sovereign God"). But, like transcendence, sovereignty enjoys little favor today, in spite of the *NCC Lectionary*, partly because of its political overtones and partly because of its paternalistic and masculine implications (which, of course, the *NCC Lectionary* seeks to avoid!). Here we may need to remind ourselves that female seminarians comprise about thirty-five percent of the student enrollment (in nearly all seminaries), and they, for the most part, are committed to inclusive language in both theology and worship.

Some might argue that adoration hymn singing echoes a trend toward a theology of "the first article" (of the Creed), and this would be in line with such current surveys as J. Christiaan Beker's *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought* (1980) and Paul F. Knitter's "Theocentric Christology" (*Theology Today*, Vol. XL, No. 2 [July 1983] 130-149). But "radical monotheism," to use H. Richard Niebuhr's phrase,

hardly seems commensurate with contemporary seminarians' normative Christology (for many of them, read = "Jesusology").

And where, we may ask, is "the third article" which in Reformed theology is the hinge of doctrinal fulfillment? What God has done for us in Jesus Christ must be made "efficacious" (in Calvin's language) by the work of the Holy Spirit. But as is so often the case in many theologies and in the list of seminary hymns, the Spirit is the occluded person in the Trinity.

Well, it's all very confusing, isn't it? Instead of discovering a simple correlation between hymns sung and theology implied, we end up with something akin to Churchill's definition of the Soviet Union—"a riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma." If hymns are selected for us and are not of our own choosing, then the theology expressed may or may not be compatible. Even when we have the opportunity to select our own hymns, we may do so because of what we think is expected of us. After all, hymns of adoration and praise are "safe" choices, that is, they are not controversial and are generally acceptable to everyone.

There is something else to be said about hymns of adoration and praise, whether in seminary chapel or in local churches. If we laugh at what is most serious for us, it could be that our brave doxologies often reflect deep questions and doubts about God and ourselves. The negative side of this equation could warn us against a posturing bravado that tries to obscure radical anxiety. This would be "positive thinking" with a vengeance, like all those smiling, happy

faces that festoon so much of our religious publicity these days.

Of course, it could be that our hymns of adoration and praise, whether we are aware of it or not, are indeed brave gestures to affirm faith in the midst of doubt and confusion. Like Paul and Silas, we sing hymns at midnight in prison. What better way to make life tolerable? And like Christians throughout the ages, we sing, hoping that our hymns will become, by the grace of God, self-fulfilling prophecies.

As to the hymn repertoire for this little study and reflection, most of the important tune styles, musically speaking, are represented, such as German chorales, the Genevan psalter, down through good and bad romantic English and American genres, and into the twentieth century. Only a small percentage of the hymns listed would be considered poor music.

But in a day of rapidly changing theological trends, concern for inclusive language, and divisive issues of social justice and world peace, the hymn singing of the Christian church should not be limited to a hymnal published in 1955 (or earlier for some congregations, or even as late as 1970 for others). There is a virtual renaissance of text and tune writing in our day, and some of the more current hymnals reflect the promise of a new day dawning (see the list appended at the conclusion of this article).

In the interval since the recording of hymns for this study, several significant things have been happening on the Princeton Seminary campus. The debate about inclusive language for liturgical purposes has heated up,

seminarians seem more willing to learn unfamiliar hymns (whether old or new), the mood of a campus—unlike most congregations—tends to be experimental and innovative, and there is a genuine involvement and commitment these days to the pastorate and the parish ministry.

Commencement speakers are fond of saying to outgoing graduates: "You are the leaders of tomorrow." However cliché-driven that exhortation, the statement makes authentic sense for today's seminarians. These graduates will soon be in churches, se-

lecting the hymns, and collaborating with church musicians as they prepare for the great liturgical seasons of the Christian year. What they are learning now and experimenting with, in the midst of the rigorous give-and-take of student discussion, this, we can believe, will set the pattern for the future of hymn singing in our churches. And, we may add, this may have as much to do, or more, with the setting of theological patterns as the lectures and textbooks of the classroom.

Alphabetical List of Hymns Sung

Title	Tune
A Mighty Fortress Is Our God	Ein' Feste Burg
A Stranger Once Did Bless the Earth (MH)	Psalm 106
All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name (<i>twice</i>)	Coronation
Am I My Brother's Keeper?	Whitford
Beneath the Cross of Jesus	St. Christopher
Blessing and Honor and Glory and Power (<i>twice</i>)	O Quanta Qualia
Cast Your Burden on the Lord	Savannah
Christ Is Made the Sure Foundation	Regent Square
Christ, Whose Glory Fills the Skies	Ratisbon
Come, Thou Long-expected Jesus	Hyfrydol
Come, You People, Rise and Sing	Boundless Mercy
Comfort, Comfort You My People	Psalm 42
Crown Him with Many Crowns	Diademata
Eternal God, Whose Power Upholds	Forest Green
Father, Eternal, Ruler of Creation	Langham
Father, in Your Mysterious Presence	Donne Secours
Father, We Praise Thee, Now the Night Is Over (<i>twice</i>)	Christe Sanctorum
For All the Saints	Sine Nomine
For the Healing of the Nations (MH)	Westminster Abbey
From All That Dwell Below the Skies (<i>twice</i>)	Lasst Uns Erfreuen
God Himself is With Us	Arnsberg
God of Grace and God of Glory	Cwm Rhondda
God Of Our Life, Through All the Circling Years (<i>twice</i>)	Sandon
Guide Me, O Thou Great Jehovah	Cwm Rhondda
Hark! the Glad Sound, the Saviour Comes	Richmond
Heart and Mind, Possessions, Lord (MH)	Marathi
Holy, Holy, Holy! Lord God Almighty! (<i>twice</i>)	Nicaea

How Firm a Foundation	Foundation
I Greet Thee, Who My Sure Redeemer Art	Toulon
I Love Thy Kingdom, Lord	St. Thomas
If You Will Only Let God Guide You (<i>twice</i>)	Neumark
Immortal, Invisible, God Only Wise	St. Denio
In Christ There Is No East or West	McKee
Jesus Shall Reign	Duke Street
Jesus, Thou Joy of Loving Hearts	Quebec
Joyful, Joyful, We Adore Thee	Hymn to Joy
Lead On, O King Eternal	Llangloffan
Lift High the Cross (LBW)	Crucifer
Lord, Dismiss Us with Thy Blessing	Sicilian Mariners
Lord God of Hosts, Whose Purpose	Welwyn
Lord of Health, Thou Life Within Us	Il Buon Pastor
O Be Joyful in the Lord (PH)	Finlay
O for a Thousand Tongues to Sing (<i>twice</i>)	Azmon
O God of Light, Your Word, a Lamp Unfailing	Charterhouse
O God, Thou Art the Father	Durrow
O Grant Us Light	Illsley
O Love of God, How Strong, How True (MH)	De Tar
O Master, Let Me Walk with Thee	Maryton
O Sing a New Song to the Lord	Song 67 (Gibbons)
O Worship the King, All Glorious Above	Lyons
Pleasant Are Thy Courts Above	Maidstone
Praise to the Lord, the Almighty (<i>twice</i>)	Lobe Den Herren
Praise Ye the Lord, for It Is Good	Minerva
Rejoice, the Lord is King	Darwall's 148th
Rejoice, Ye Pure in Heart (WP)	Vineyard Haven
Rise Up, O Men of God	Festal Song
Send Down Your Truth, O God	Aylesbury
Sing of Mary (EP)	Pleading Savior
Sing Praise to God Who Reigns Above (<i>twice</i>)	Mit Freuden Zart
So Let Our Lips and Lives Express	Hebron
Spread, O Spread the Mighty Word	Gott Sei Dank
Sun of My Soul, Thou Saviour Dear	Hursley
The God of Abraham Praise	Leoni
The Lord's My Shepherd	Crimond
Veiled in Darkness Judah Lay	Pittsburgh
We Thank Thee, Lord	Field
What Does the Lord Require? (MH)	Sharphorne
When in Our Music God is Glorified (WP)	Engleberg
When I Survey the Wondrous Cross	Hamburg
When Morning Gilds the Skies (<i>twice</i>)	Laudes Domini
You That Know the Lord is Gracious (WP)	Abbot's Leigh

Hymnal Abbreviation Codes

EP	Ecumenical Praise (Agape, Carol Stream, IL), 1977
LBW	Lutheran Book of Worship (Board of Publication, Philadelphia, PA), 1978
MH	More Hymns and Spiritual Songs (Walton Music), 1971
PH	Pilgrim Hymnal (United Church Press, New York, NY), 1958
WP	Westminster Praise (Hinshaw, Chapel Hill, NC), 1980

Hymn Supplements

Hymns III	Church Hymnal Corporation, New York, NY, 1979
Supplement to the Book of Hymns	United Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, TN, 1981
Songs of Zion	United Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, TN, 1980
More Hymns and Spiritual Songs	Walton Music, 1971
Ecumenical Praise	Agape, Carol Stream, IL, 1977
Westminster Praise	Hinshaw Music, Chapel Hill, NC, 1976
Songs of Thanks and Praise	Hinshaw Music, Chapel Hill, NC, 1980
Everflowing Streams	Pilgrim Press, New York, NY, 1981
Joy in Singing (texts by Jane Parker Huber)	Office of Women and Joint Office of Worship of Presbyterian Church (USA), 1983
Faith Looking Forward (texts by Brian Wren)	Hope Publishing Company, Carol Stream, IL, 1983
The Hymns and Ballads of F. Pratt Green	Hope Publishing Company, Carol Stream, IL, 1982

The Passion of Sobriety

by J. CHRISTIAAN BEKER

J. Christiaan Beker, a native of Gorssel, Holland, is a graduate of the University of Utrecht, Seabury-Western Seminary, and the University of Chicago. Since 1966 he has been professor of biblical theology at Princeton Seminary. He is a member of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis and of the New Testament Society. Dr. Beker is the author of several books, including Paul the Apostle (1980) and Paul's Apocalyptic Gospel (1982).

*Text: If we are beside ourselves, it is for God;
if we are sober, it is for you. (2 Corinthians 5:13; my translation)*

PAUL had experienced deep trouble before he wrote these words. His most important church in Greece—Corinth—was in danger of apostasy, of forsaking him and the gospel he had preached to them.

What is the reason behind this falling away of the Corinthian church? Why was Paul virtually disowned by a church he had founded personally? The heart of the trouble centers around a different conception, between Paul and his rival ministers in Corinth, as to what constitutes the center of the Christian life.

The apostolate of Paul has come under attack by people who are convinced that the Holy Spirit produces spectacular success and a miraculous transformation, visible to all. This attack has a twofold prong: Paul does not represent the correct apostolic tradition; moreover, this is manifest in that he is not a person of obvious spiritual greatness.

You simply cannot detect Paul's qualification of being a man of God when he exercises his ministry. Indeed, he may be a great writer of letters, they say; that is, he may sound great at a distance; but when you

meet him in person, he has no "presence" at all. Look here! He proclaims a message of resurrection and victory—of Christ having overcome death and reigning in spiritual triumph over the world; but if—as he himself claims—the apostle shares in the message he proclaims, if he is "in Christ," where does that victory show? Spiritual greatness must be evident somewhere! Where then in this beaten-down fellow, by his own admission a tramp and a trembler, is there *that* mysterious and attractive fascination of the charismatic personality and guru?

This then is the situation into which Paul speaks our verse. Although very short and staccato, it carries a sharp polemical edge and in fact summarizes Paul's conviction about the ministry and the Christian life:

If we are beside ourselves, it is for God;

if we are sober, it is for you.

My word—what a word! Sobriety is something we need least of all in the church; that is precisely what makes theology so scholastic and the sermon so dull: preachers who dili-

gently explain texts according to the methods which they have learned in seminary from their New Testament professors; preachers who offer rational and even aesthetically pleasing discourses with just the right balance of anecdotes and exhortations and who then say "Amen"—before you have experienced anything like the vital presence of God. Sobriety borders on dullness and boredom. Yet we want so badly to experience God. That is the reason why we do not trust the sermon any longer as the Word of the living God and why we so often introduce sacramental paraphernalia into our sanctuaries, so that a lot of flickering candles may boost the poverty of our words and suggest at least the presence of the Holy.

That is also the reason why we turn to the religious expert. We invite the conversion-specialist, the charismatic or guru who is able at least to suggest ways in which we may experience the ecstatic elations of the Spirit. And indeed who will deny that a sense of the immediate presence of God, both in the church and in the individual, is a requirement of the spiritual life, and that the awareness of God's surprising presence effectively banishes dullness and sobriety?

Why then is Paul, as it were, recommending the dullness of sobriety when he speaks about the ministry, "if we are sober, it is for you"? Was not the early church constituted by the gift of the Spirit on Pentecost and are not charismatics in our time a true continuation of that immediacy of the Spirit in our midst?

Now our usual explanation of Paul's sobriety needs correction. It is

simply not true that Paul is an anti-charismatic who subdues charismatic and Spirit-induced phenomena for the sake of rationality and order (as it goes in our beloved Presbyterian phrase, "so that all will be done decently and in order"). It is a mistake to read our text as if it says that Paul is the advocate of sobriety and the antagonist and adversary of ecstasy and passion. To the contrary: Paul does not oppose passion to sobriety. Rather he affirms *both*. He knows what it is to be in ecstasy and what it is to be sober:

If we are beside ourselves, it is for God;

if we are sober, it is for you.

In fact, Paul's person and apostolate become quite unintelligible for us if we fail to understand that he is driven by religious passion for the sake of the gospel and that it is especially his passionate life-style which shines through all the pages of his letters and which made him such an explosive figure in the history of the church. And so, however mysterious Paul may be to his interpreters, we know *at least* that he was a man of passion.

And yet, while he affirms both ecstasy and sobriety, he does distinguish them: his ecstasy, he says, is for God; his sobriety is for his ministry to the world. And that is a profound thought. What is at stake for Paul is not ecstasy *or* sobriety, not ecstasy *versus* sobriety, but rather the peculiar relationship between ecstasy *and* sobriety. It concerns the question of how Paul translates his private ecstasy into intelligibility, that is, into his public care for others.

Paul resists as contrary to the gospel of Christ what the Corinthians

want most from him. My ecstatic relation to God, he says, is strictly a private matter; it is something between God and myself. It is, as Jesus had said, the business of the inner room, of closing the closet door and praying to the Father in secret, so as not to be an exhibitionist or a public boaster in one's spirituality.

And yet this *private* passion and ecstasy before God is intimately related to the sobriety which Paul deems necessary for his *public* ministry. When he says, "if I am sober, it is for you," he does not leave his ecstasy in his private closet, but transfers it into an ecstatic concern for others. Indeed, for the sake of his people, he is engaged in sobriety. For unless we are sober, we cannot discern the sobriety of the love of Christ, who according to Paul in the verse following closely upon our verse, "died for all, that those who live might live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sake died and was raised" (2 Corinthians 5:15). In other words, unless we are sober we cannot discern the strategies of love; we cannot discern how the reconciling love of Christ concretizes itself and incarnates itself in the lives of the people we are called to serve.

And so, what is remarkable about this short verse is this: that when Paul speaks about sobriety, it is a sobriety informed by his ecstasy for God; in short, *it is the passion of sobriety*.

And so the issue for us is not whether we shall be dull and sober *or* people of ecstasy; not whether we shall be engaged in passion *or* in pru-

dence. Rather the issue is this: What is it that motivates our sobriety and what is it that motivates our ecstasy and passion?

Shall we use our private experiences with God to enhance ourselves *or* use them as a means to learn to discern concretely the needs of others? Shall we use our sobriety to become detached and disengaged thinkers and prudent balconizers *or* shall we use it to become passionately engaged for others? Unless the latter is true, our ecstasy will be self-serving and our sobriety will be a prudent reasonableness which loses both its contact with the living presence of God and the passionate concern for the neighbor.

Paul himself translates the meaning of our verse in a similar vein in the next chapter of our letter, where he defines the true charismatic in Christ:

... as servants of God we commend ourselves in every way: through great endurance, in afflictions, hardships, calamities ... ; ... truthful speech, and the power of God; ... as unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold we live; ... as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing everything (2 Corinthians 6:4-10).

And so let us go forth—not in self-serving passion, not in calculated sobriety, but with passionate sobriety, engaged in discerning the needs of our time, so that our passion for God may become transparent in our compassion for others.

Evangelism in an Exploding World

by CHARLES A. RYERSON III

Charles A. Ryerson III is an assistant professor of the history of religions at Princeton Theological Seminary. He has taught at Columbia University and at Hunter College (C.U.N.Y.) as well as in India at The American College, Annamalai University, and Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society. He is the author of Encounter in South India and many articles. This sermon was preached in Miller Chapel on the seminary campus.

Text: *And there came a voice to Peter saying, "What God has cleansed, you must not call common." . . . And Peter opened his mouth and said, "Truly I perceive that God shows no partiality, but in every nation any one who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him. (Acts 10:1-35)*

THE story of Cornelius in Acts 10 is one of my favorite New Testament passages. It illustrates the theme of the encounter of Christians with those who come from other cultures and religions. This passage says at least four things to me about evangelism. First, no person is unacceptable or unclean to the Christian God. God shows no partiality and has no favorites. Our God is a God who loves all persons and all nations. This sounds like such a simple lesson: truly God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth. Often, however, it is difficult for us Christians to accept this simple truth. Somehow, we feel, while God may love everyone, surely he loves us and other Christians the best! At least we must be the first among equals. The text is clear, however. God loves all equally: Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, Jew, Christian, Communist, etc. No person is unacceptable or unclean to the God of the New Testament.

The second lesson of this passage is that while all persons are loved equally and share a common hu-

manity because of their common Creator, still they are differentiated from each other by their nationhood, their culture. Peter is clearly a very Jewish Christian, obeying the dietary and hospitality laws of his Jewish culture. Cornelius is just as obviously a Gentile. He is a good man but, nonetheless, an officer of the dreaded Italian Cohort, part of an occupying army enforcing imperialistic rule. But (and this is the second part of the second lesson) God's spirit works through history and culture. It met Peter and Cornelius in the midst of their own histories. The spirit of God is always incarnated in specific acts and deeds in history and culture.

Culture has been described somewhere as "models of reality, spasms of pleasure, religious ecstasies. Epic poems, reflecting pools, symphonies, moon landings, zippers, demolition derbies . . . also blitzkriegs, gas chambers, and napalm. But also fudge sundaes, sonnets, and cathedrals, too." Culture is such an important category precisely because it is different for different people and nations. No

challenge is greater for the person who goes forth in the name of Christ than confronting a culture which is different from one's own. It is not only in food and dress but in everyday habits that one discovers the vast differences and barriers of culture.

Every society, for example, has social hypocrisies. We all have them and they are accepted by all because they help us to get through difficult social encounters. Many of you know that I have spent several years in India. India has these social hypocrisies, as does America, but the important point to remember is not that they are hypocrisies but that they are different. I well remember an exuberant, outgoing, "executive type" American church official (I shall not mention his denomination!) who once visited me in India. He walked up to one of my usually articulate Indian friends with his confident smile, his hand out-thrust, and he belowed, "I'm so glad to meet you!" My friend looked at him with genuine puzzlement and quietly asked, "Why?"

The major barrier to creative Western-Indian contact, however, is Western in construction. It is the division erected by Western racial arrogance during the past three hundred years. The destructive effects of this air of superiority were most forcefully brought home to me in one unforgettable experience. I was riding on an Indian train and came one night to a small station far from any city. I had to wait until morning for a connecting train, so I spent the night sleeping on the station platform. In the morning the stationmaster found me there and invited me into the station for breakfast. Like most stationmasters he was educated

and spoke fluent English. He was lonely in the little backwater station. We were carrying on a rather sophisticated conversation (probably about Shakespeare) when he suddenly said, "Most Westerners think we're black monkeys. You don't think that, do you?" The anguished poignancy of that question has never ceased to haunt me. We often forget that the scars left by imperialism are not primarily economic. When we study Western-Third World relations, we should remember Freud as well as Marx! I am certain, however, that God's creative spirit, his Word, Christ, was speaking to me in all these specific intercultural encounters. That is where Christ continually incarnates himself, leading us forward, "cleaning up" (as Acts puts it) peoples and cultures all the time.

However, while we are all creatures of a given culture, the encounter with Christ always means that we break with culture. This is the third lesson of the Acts passage. The meeting with Christ brings a discontinuity in one's history and with one's culture which, paradoxically, liberates one into all the world. One learns that one is in the world but not of it. The early Christian epistle, *Letter to Diognetus*, comments that one who follows Christ is at home in all the nations of the world but also an alien and a stranger in all lands.

In the Acts passage, Peter fiercely clings to his Jewish dietary habits. When he feels hungry, God sends him a sailcloth filled with non-*kosher* creatures. God tells him to kill and eat. Peter cries out, "No, Lord, no. I have never eaten anything profane or unclean." God replies, "It is not for you to call profane what God

counts clean." Peter puzzles over the meaning of this and then Cornelius' messengers arrive and Peter sets forth—breaking another of his culture's laws by entering a Gentile's home. Cornelius, after he becomes baptized, will break in an important way with his Romanness.

This raises the fourth issue of the Acts passage. Peter does not convert Cornelius to his faith. The spirit of God, Christ, calls Peter forth from his limited cultural understanding of Christ and through the historical meeting with Cornelius, *both* Peter and Cornelius are transformed. *Both* meet in Christ and *each* is transformed by God in Christ. Peter's understanding of Christ is as much deepened and changed as is that of Cornelius. All too often a Christian views evangelism as converting another person to his or her "religion." Rather, the encounter, which always occurs at a specific moment in history and in a specific cultural context, helps the Christian clean up his or her limited understanding of Christ and Christianity and leads the church into a deeper understanding and awareness of just who Christ is.

This concept is beautifully summed up in two quotations, each of which comes from South Asia. A. G. Hogg was a famous Scottish Presbyterian educator-missionary to India. For more than thirty years he served at Madras Christian College, part of the time as principal. At the famous 1938 International Missionary Council Conference at Tambaram, where the college is located, Hogg wrote:

In its worst form proselytism is the effort to get persons to join our party because it is ours. In its best form it is the effort to get

persons to join our party because we ourselves believe it to be the right party. Evangelism, on the other hand, is the effort to bring people to the feet of our Divine Master, leaving it to *Him* to tell *them* whether to join our party, or some other party, or no party at all.¹

The second quotation comes from D. T. Niles, a Methodist from Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) who was one of the remarkable group of South Asian Christians who founded, in 1947, the pioneering Church of South India. While I was a student in 1961 at Union Theological Seminary in New York City, I heard D. T. Niles say the following:

To be evangelists is not an undertaking to spread Christianity. It is rather to be caught within the explosion of the Gospel. Christ is at work . . . and in his working we are caught, impelled, given until we become part of the lives of those to whom we are sent. Then we find that since we meet one another in Jesus, not only am I given to my neighbor but he is given to me and we are comforted together. An evangelist who in the process of evangelism does not learn more about Jesus Christ from the situation to which he has been sent is not engaged in evangelism. He is engaged in propagating Christianity, which is a very different occupation.

Each of these quotations succinctly reflects the fourth lesson of

¹ A. G. Hogg, "Evangelism: Its Meaning" in J. R. Mott (ed.), *Evangelism for the World Today* (Harper & Row, 1938), p. 22.

Acts 10. Our Christ and our religion are too small, too limited. It is only as Christians go forth into the world as servants of Christ, mixing with all persons and all cultures and all histories, that our micro-Christians will have the opportunity to be crucified. Then they will be resurrected as larger and truer visions of Christ.

It may be felt that I have been speaking of evangelism only in the context of other nations and cultures. Our own nation, however, is very pluralistic and we are understanding the perils and opportunities of our pluralism more fully every day. The task of going forth to those we once felt were profane and unclean is a challenge for all of us, whether in the context of this seminary or beyond to the nation and the world.

Last year I was invited to a suburban Presbyterian church in the South to speak on Islam. It turned out to be an exciting adventure because the church's publicity had been unexpectedly excellent and the congregation was composed not only of white suburban Christians but of a large number of Black Muslims from a mosque in a nearby city. After the service the Imam of the mosque and the pastor met each other. The pastor is very enlightened and the church had been active in much social activity, including hosting some Vietnamese refugees. Not too long afterwards, I received a letter from the pastor's wife. It read in part:

Which brings me around to the problem I'm wrestling with. The refugee family care just amounted to a supremely demanding job,

even though we're glad we adopted them. It *was* a risk and we *did* lose members who disapproved. . . . Three Muslims visited our Sunday School class about a month ago and declared, in a very tactful and loving way, that their purpose was to work together with us in love. Now, what should I do? Should we return the visit? How to establish communication without losing more members, or should we just take another risk? Very few WASPs know of the large Muslim presence, nor would we if it hadn't been for you. I'm very concerned about fighting fear and firsthand information and contact are the only way. . . . Any suggestions you have would be very welcome. . . .

A remarkable letter from a remarkable woman.

The pastor, his wife, and the congregation face the problem and opportunity that Peter was confronted by, and that many of you as pastors will confront. This congregation can move out into meaningful dialogue with their black brothers and sisters in the risk of faith. The encounter with these Muslims will change, at least to some degree, their vision of Christ. Or they can remain in their own ghetto, worrying about membership rolls and their clean white Christ. All Christians must pray for and with this troubled but courageous congregation. It is never easy to link the explosion of the Gospel with the exploding histories and cultures of today's world. Yet as Acts 10 testifies, this is precisely the task of evangelism.

This morning we sang a hymn.
Let me remind you of one verse:

Said Jesus to Mary, "Your love
is so deep,
Today you may do as you will.
Tomorrow you say I am going
away,
But my body I leave with you
still," he said,

"My body I leave with you
still."²

Tomorrow is now today. And his
body is hanging on the Cross of the
World.

² Sydney Carter, "Judas and Mary," in Lee
Bristol (ed.), *More Hymns and Spiritual Songs*
(Walton Music Corporation, 1977), H-68.

Who Is Jesus Christ for Us?

by T. HERBERT O'DRISCOLL

The Reverend T. Herbert O'Driscoll is rector of Christ Church Cathedral in Calgary, Alberta, Canada. He has served as warden of the College of Preachers in Washington, DC, and as principal speaker of the Consultation of the Future of Ministry in Toronto. He is the author of several books including For All Seasons and One Man's Journal. This sermon was preached on July 4, 1984, during the evening service of the Institute of Theology.

Text: Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse: the blessing, if you obey the commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you this day, and the curse, if you do not obey the commandments of the Lord your God, but turn aside from the way which I command you this day, to go after other gods which you have not known. . . . For you are to pass over the Jordan to go in to take possession of the land which the Lord your God gives you; and when you possess it and live in it, you shall be careful to do all the statutes and the ordinances which I set before you this day. (Deuteronomy 11:26-32)

But as it is, they desire a better country, that is, a heavenly one. Therefore God is not ashamed to be called their God, for he has prepared for them a city. (Hebrews 11:1-16)

I AM very aware of being a visitor who has been given a privilege, the privilege of preaching in this pulpit on this particular day in the life of this particular national family, when you celebrate that most personal of all occasions, a birthday.

There are two scriptures which I will use as a basis for what I wish to share with you, and to those I wish to link some thoughts about Our Lord Jesus Christ in the continuing theme of this week's chapel services.

First the verses from the 11th chapter of Deuteronomy. As you know, it is particularly fitting that we should read from this magnificent moral and compassionate book on this day. Deuteronomy is a nation's constitution. It is a call to all that is best and most morally challenging to a society as that society tries to reform itself. It refers of course

to a long-ago and very small society but it reaches a greatness in its writing that allows it to capture a quality of the universal, so that it speaks to all societies, including contemporary and great societies such as this.

The few verses that we can take from this magnificent document are an image of the fearful burden and privilege and responsibility which this country, the United States, bears. If you follow the careful directions given in chapter 11, verse 30, you will come today in Israel, in your car or taxi or tour bus, to the spot where we find the image for our consideration. It is on the highway which goes up the high granite backbone of Israel, between the coast road and the road going north along the Jordan river valley. On this highway you come to Mt. Gerazim and Mount Ebal.

The long-ago writer of Deuter-

onomy must have been a man of imagination because he directed his contemporaries to look at these two hills and to let them be images forever of the eternal ambiguity in which the life of a nation must be lived. It is lived always between blessing and curse.

Since time began men and women have felt the moral tensions of living in society. The greater and more powerful the society, the more widespread its sphere of influence, the more far-reaching its responsibilities, then the more agonizing those moral tensions will be. The possession of great power in history carries with it the terrible companion of moral ambiguity. In such a society of great power and complexity no decisions can shine brightly in the eyes of all as a blessing. Every decision taken politically within the body politic is seen by some as blessing and by others as curse. Every decision taken by a great society which affects the world beyond its borders is likewise seen by some societies as a blessing and by others as a curse. Power places greatness in the valley between the mountains of ambiguity, between the Gerazim of national and international blessing, and the Ebal of national and international curse.

One is not saying that this society alone wrestles with moral ambiguity. All societies do. But the measure of the ambiguity increases with power. The less powerful a society is the more it has the luxury to moralize, to reflect on the wisdom of this or that choice of possible action, precisely because it is not immediately responsible for carrying out either or any action. The more powerful so-

ciety, above all the most powerful society, has no such luxury of leisurely reflection. It must act, sometimes swiftly and provisionally, balancing unknown possibilities, feeling its way in the complexity of daily political existence. It may find eventually that what it intended as blessing for its own interests turns out to be curse, or what it intended for the welfare of another people as blessing emerges for them, or is perceived by them, as curse.

Ebal and Gerazim loom over the modern highway as vivid images of the inescapable ambiguity which holds great power in its grip.

To paint such an image is not a cheering or encouraging thing. It is wearying and frustrating. But it is the terrible reality of human experience in society within the process of time and history. And in the face of that draining reality, scripture gives us another great and energizing universal image.

The unknown writer of the letter to the Hebrews faces the terrible fact that to be human is to have the capacity to dream of a country which you cannot arrive at within history, to envision a society of ultimate justice, ultimate peace, ultimate integrity, but to accept the inevitability that the sphere of history has no room for ultimates. It has room only for the partial, the flawed, the compromised. At best it allows the shining breakthrough which gives a momentary glimpse of the longed-for perfection but is lost again.

But echoing what is perhaps the greatest Jewish contribution to our culture, Hebrews defines our deepest humanity in terms of our ability to remain faithful to the vision of

another country. By one of the noblest and loveliest paradoxes it describes true human greatness in terms of our capacity to expend all our energy, our best gifts, the focus of our faith itself, on the journey toward that longed-for ultimacy, straining every ability to shape what we can of it within history, knowing that its fulfillment remains always beyond us.

The writer is very realistic. He knows well the temptation to tire of the never ending failure to achieve political and social Shalom, the frustration of seeing the shining city yet never riding into its streets. He speaks of the temptation felt by many to give up the journey, to turn back. He says simply and brutally that to give up the journey through the ambiguity and brokenness of history is to betray the covenant we have with the Lord of history, that Lord who in flesh came into our flawed history and tasted in his own body all the filth and pain which paves the streets of the city of time and humanity.

That is why the writer crowns the great song of faith in chapter eleven by opening chapter twelve with the name of Jesus. The implication is that, because God in Christ Jesus chose to enter into the ambiguity of time and history and the political process, we who live in these things hearing his name cannot but be faithful to our involvement in that same history.

Now having used those two scriptures I want to return to the question of Bonhoeffer mentioned last night. I want to ask, "Who is Jesus Christ for us?" given the things we have just thought about. I want to offer to you Our Lord Jesus Christ in terms

which the early generations of Christians came to recognize, not immediately, but within a few short centuries. They began to see that the events of Bethlehem and Calvary and the Garden Tomb and the Mount of the Ascension and the Pentecostal chamber had consequences not merely for the personal and pietistic level of faith but that they were also capable of providing the moral and spiritual energy for men and women to involve themselves in public life, social structures, political dialogue.

In a single sentence, there issued from the Christ event that which enabled some men and women to affirm a possible future at a time when many men and women were beginning to lose hope in the human enterprise. The reason why we late 20th century Christians should be aware of this is that we live in an age where there is a great temptation to lose hope in the human enterprise precisely because we find it difficult to see history also as a divine enterprise.

Halfway through the third century men and women in the Mediterranean world felt the world was going awry. There had been spells of climate bringing earthquakes and crop failures. Inflation was oppressive. Life in the cities was showing unhealthy signs. Politics was becoming complex and unrewarding. Spiritually there was a great hunger which was seeking many outlets from the sublime to the obscene. The times were anxious.

What did such a society tend to hear from the growing Christian element within it? What I am going to say was not said by any particular voice but I think it valid to say that the following, or something very like

the following, was heard by the society of the time.

(1) The Christians claimed to have encountered a Way to live as a human being. This they claimed to have encountered in a Person whose Way of being alive, they also claimed, conquered even death. This Way, Christians said, was capable, if people so wished to choose it, of being a universal Way irrespective of culture.

(2) In the 3rd century Roman civilization, while not in a *fin de siècle* mood, was feeling somehow that the high noon of its history had passed. There was a sense of at least slightly lengthening shadows. Into this attitude Christian thinking injected a very different note. For them history had been entered by a new quality of humanity in Christ. Because there had been this entering, this Incarnation, then they looked for a quality in history which would be essentially recreative, opening it to new possibilities.

(3) The Roman psyche was wrestling with the consequences of empire. To keep the extended frontiers of empire guarded, more and more of society's energy and wealth was going into the demands of "defense

spending," of "national security." This deep frustration, this sense that the future was demanding more and more investment in the legions, with a growing danger of increasing violence and brutality in life, had a political counterpart. As the institutions of empire grew in complexity and distribution, more and more good Roman minds were losing their commitment to the political process, moving to a sad cynicism.

To both of these tendencies the Christians adopted a distinctive stance.

Again it emerged from their conviction of Incarnation and Resurrection. They again claimed that the new quality of humanity in Jesus Christ, with its ultimates in love and hope, dismissed the sad expectation that the ultimates of the future were merely increasing violence and political cynicism.

Such was the nature and substance of Christian communication in a society doubtful about the future. To the extent that we can find grace and courage to utter it, such might be, I suggest, our communication as Christians among the anxious empires of our time.

There Is Yet One

by WALLACE M. ALSTON

A native of Kentucky, Dr. Wallace M. Alston is an alumnus of Emory University and Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, and has also studied at Harvard Divinity School and the University of Zurich. He has held pastorates in Alabama, North Carolina, and Princeton, New Jersey, where he is currently senior pastor of the Nassau Presbyterian Church. This sermon was preached in Miller Chapel on July 8, 1984, during the evening service of the Institute of Theology.

Text: *And the king of Israel said to Jehoshaphat, "There is yet one man by whom we may inquire of the Lord, Macaiah the son of Imlah; but I hate him, for he never prophesies good concerning me, but evil." (1 Kings 22:8)*

THE story of Macaiah and the two kings is but one of many biblical reminders of the prophetic task to which the believer and the believing community are called. Just as the individual is called to represent his or her faith in the world of public affairs, so the believing community must face the challenge of making its faith and social teaching relevant and responsible in relation to social and political problems . . . without becoming moralistic or fanatical . . . without relinquishing responsibility for the world, on the one hand, and without trying to control the world, on the other.

Ideally, perhaps, the church, charged with the task of speaking for God in a world that knows Him not, should itself be above the fray, not one of the forces contending for advantage in society. Most of us who belong to the church believe that the revelation of God in the history of Israel and in Jesus Christ is the unveiling of God's intention and purpose for the whole inhabited world;

that all things in the beginning were made, not for bitterness, strife, envy, greed, killing, lying, and so on, but for love, freedom, tenderness, justice, reconciliation, forgiveness, and peace; and that we are called to bear witness to these qualities of life in everything we say and do. In reality, however, we who believe these things and are called to testify to them are *not* above the fray. The church, which is the responding community in relation to the divine revelation, is also a very human institution—affected by the sins and various forms of self-interest represented by its membership; subject to the same sociological forces and pressures as any other human institution; and victim of the illusions, prejudices, and limited perspectives current in the world in which it lives. That is to say, the church is a sinful as well as a saving institution, and that fact immensely complicates its relation to the state.

One of the most dangerous forms of the sin of the church is the sanctification by the church of any par-

ticular social or political party, system, program, or personality with the will of God. "One need not be a secularist to believe that politics in the name of God is of the devil," wrote Reinhold Niebuhr, "for religious politics invariably gives an ultimate sanction to highly ambiguous political programs." And that holds as well for the ideologists on the left as it does for ideologists on the right.

Now, in trying to come to terms with this difficult issue of church and state—which is essentially the question of the relation of prophecy to power—Protestants, when they have been true to their own best insights, have affirmed three things.

First, they have affirmed something about the church, namely, that the church is not the kingdom of God in which the will of God for every social and political problem is known and understood. The church has its treasure, for sure, but always in earthen vessels, so that both church and world might never forget that the transcendent power belongs to God and not to us. And as an earthen vessel itself, the church knows that it is deeply implicated in and by precisely those problems it seeks to solve.

Second, Protestants have affirmed something about the state, namely, that there is no such thing as a Christian nation or state in which the will of God is adequately reflected in constitutions, laws, and policies. The luncheon club prattle to the effect that our system may not be perfect, but it is better than anything else on the horizon, is simply another form of self-glorifying, self-congratulating, self-justification that seeks to evade the searching eyes of a God who looks deep into the soul of every

system and is not impressed by the mediocrity of downward comparisons!

Third, Protestants have affirmed something about the relationship between church and state, namely, that God calls the church to a prophetic task; that, implicated and imperfect as it is, the church is called of God to speak truth to power, without becoming moralistic or fanatical; without relinquishing responsibility for the world, on the one hand, and without trying to control the world, on the other.

Apparently, Beh-hadad of Syria had never returned the city of Ramoth-gilead to Ahab, king of Israel, as he had promised to do three years before. So Ahab decides to take the city by force and asks his vassal Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, to help him. Jehoshaphat is not unsympathetic to Ahab's request, but he does suggest that, for good measure, they ought to seek the wisdom of the prophets on the matter. So Ahab calls together his religious sycophants—the court prophets that always hang around people of power—who numbered about 400, and asked them to advise the kings as to the will of God. Of course, they do what court prophets always do. They tell the kings what the kings want to hear, advising them to move forward, and assuring them that God is on their side and will deliver the city into their hands. But Jehoshaphat is suspicious of Ahab's prophets and asks if there is not another prophet of the Lord whom they might consult. Then comes our text:

And the king of Israel said to Jehoshaphat, "There is yet one man

by whom we may inquire of the Lord, Macaiah the son of Imlah; but I hate him, for he never prophesies good concerning me, but evil."

So Macaiah is summoned, and when he arrives, his advice appears to be the same as the others: "Go up and triumph; the Lord will give it into the hand of the king." But the king is skeptical about this uncharacteristically good word from Macaiah, and commands Macaiah to stop putting him on. "How many times shall I adjure you that you speak to me nothing but the truth in the name of the Lord?" Wherewith Macaiah lays it on the line to Ahab in typical Old Testament fashion. Macaiah says that God told him to lie to the king to trick the king to go against Syria, for Ahab is to die and Israel is to be defeated. Ahab, as one might expect, is shaken by this contrary word and takes every precaution to see that it does not come true. He dresses poor Jehoshaphat in his own armor and himself in a common soldier's uniform. But an archer shoots a random arrow, which strikes Ahab and Ahab dies. His blood runs into a watering hole, where the dogs of Samaria drink, and harlots wash themselves in it trying to get clean. Then comes the deuteronomic historian's customary obituary:

So Ahab slept with his fathers; and Ahaziah his son reigned in his stead.

Now, what have we here? And what have we to gain from this quaint tale of intrigue and gore?

1. *What we have here is Israel's reading of its own past in light of the*

conviction that God was present and involved in the worst of it as well as the best. What we have here is the radical despiritualization of Israel's understanding of God in light of the conviction that God is sovereign over and at work in social and political affairs. What we have here is a parable of prophecy and power, which illustrates the intricate interplay between the two, without worshiping either, or equating either with God.

Prophecy in the Old Testament, as you well know, is not simply the prediction of the future. The prophet is a person who is given insight into who God is and what God is doing in the world, and who is called to speak the truth to power, so that those who think they are in control of things might know that it is not so, and begin to see what is really going on in what is happening in the social and political affairs of the time.

2. *As for what we gain from this story, one thing that occurs to me is that we gain here a sharp focus on the mixed motives with which power always seeks and receives the wisdom of the prophet.* And by "power" I mean not only political power, but corporate, institutional, ecclesiastical, and personal power as well—established people, roles, and systems by which life in this world is led, organized, influenced, or controlled.

Ahab, king of Israel, wanted his prophets to bless his intentions by assuring him that they coincided with God's intentions. Nations and individuals are always trying to prove that they are acting in accord with the highest good or ultimate truth. Most American politicians sound like Ahab in the last thirty seconds of their speeches.

Jehoshaphat, on the other hand, was not much better. He was more honest in that he saw through the hypocrisy of Ahab's prophets, but his skepticism was skepticism of Ahab, not of himself. Jehoshaphat represents the ease with which we puncture the pretensions of others, and the difficulty we have in recognizing pretensions of our own. Each nation sees through the hypocrisies of the other; few nations question their own. When was the last time the United States or the Soviet Union said: "We made a mistake; we were wrong; we acted unwisely; we did not rightly understand"? So we go on fooling one another, calling it human relationships or international diplomacy, and we do so with a relatively easy conscience because we have first fooled ourselves! If the New Testament cry is: "How shall they hear without a preacher?" the Old Testament cry is: "How shall they see without a prophet?" . . . which brings us to the next thing we have to gain from our story.

3. *It is the insight that the word of the Lord is normally spoken from outside, not from within the councils of power . . . not by people or groups that power deems acceptable, but by strange and often unattractive prophets, whom God has called to this particular vocation.*

We do not know very much about Macaiah, except that he was one whom God raised up for the prophetic task. We do not know how he discerned God's word from all the other words being spoken in his culture. We simply know that, on this occasion, Macaiah knew that God was more than the sum total of the highest human values; that God's in-

tention did not always square with the planks in the reigning party's platform; and that God's will could not be self-perceived within the perspectives of power. He knew that power generally does not reform itself, particularly when overlayed with religion. Macaiah was a man who believed that God's word must be spoken to power from outside, and with courage he spoke that word as he had been given to know it.

This, it seems to me, continues to be the vocation of the church, especially in these days when the issues are so complex and menacing, and it is less popular to do than it was two decades ago. Implicated and imperfect though we are, nevertheless we have seen and heard, believed and confessed Jesus Christ as the revelation of God's word as to the meaning and purpose of life. Tempted as we are to color that word with the crayons of our culture, incapable as we are of protecting that word from the taint and twist of our own illusions and pretensions, nevertheless the church is called to be that one to speak the often unpopular word of justice, mercy, peace, and world community, to the possessors and structures of power today.

If it is to be this prophetic community, the church must stop looking at the world as if it were two, the sacred and the secular, and realize that in God's eyes there are not two worlds, but one, and that God wills all of life to be sacred and not profane. The church will have to see that such issues as nuclear disarmament, world hunger, the protection of the environment, and the quest for human rights, are deeply reli-

gious issues in relation to which God calls the church to testify to what it knows. To fulfill its prophetic calling, the church must become as skilled in dealing with the facts, as it is with its faith, that it may be neither unrealistic before the world or unfaithful before God. It must be prepared to cope compassionately with tensions within and with ridicule from without, trusting in nothing, save the grace and forgiveness of God to contradict its erroneous pronouncements and to redeem its stupid mistakes. For the prophetic way is always the conflicted way, and can be expected to lead the church in the way of the Cross.

What about the separation of church and state? Our American principle of the separation of church and state is a valuable heritage. It has to do not with our spheres of interests, but with our institutions, prohibiting the establishment of one religion and the suppression of others. We do well, not only as American citizens, but as Christians, to resist all pressures—be they in the form of prayer amendments or laws to require certain theories concerning the origin of life to be taught in our schools—to give any religious group or doctrine special advantage in our society.

But no one can deny that we pay a price for religious liberty in this land, and that price is the official

secularization of our culture. This means that, even more important than having a Christian politician to lead us, it is important that we have a Christian prophet to confront us—nations as well as individuals, church as well as state—with the sharp judgment and thus with the steadfast love of Almighty God.

With whatever mixed motives, possessors of power and structures of responsibility in the East and in the West, dimly knowing that human actions can never justify themselves, still make reference to the greatest good, or to the highest values, and sometimes even to God, in an attempt to find that justification elsewhere. Our contemporary world, well fed by false prophets from the left and the right, and fed up with the human anguish that wars upon wars between self-deceived and self-interested peoples have inflicted on one another, cry out in our very hearing: "Is there not here another prophet of the Lord of whom we may inquire?" And the best evidence I know that God is and that God lives, is that history continues to answer back: "There is yet one." There is yet one!

The task of the church is to be that one for the sake of the whole inhabited world, its present and its future, saying with Macaiah of old: "As the Lord lives, what the Lord says to me, that will I speak!"

BOOK REVIEWS

Klein, Ralph W. *1 Samuel*. Word Biblical Commentary No. 10. Waco, TX: Word Books, 1983. Pp. xxxiii + 307. \$18.95

Klein's commentary is a major addition to the scholarly literature on 1 Samuel and may best be compared to the recent Anchor Bible commentary on the same book by Kyle M. McCarter, Jr. Like McCarter, Klein was trained under Frank M. Cross of Harvard, and like McCarter, Klein accepts Cross's basic theory about the different textual recensions represented by the MT, LXX, and Qumran texts of Samuel. Thus Klein gives serious attention to the Greek text of the LXX in his attempt to reconstruct the best possible text of Samuel for his exegetical work. Klein adopts the LXX readings far less often than McCarter, however.

Klein also differs from McCarter in being heavily influenced by the work of T. Veijola on the Deuteronomistic Historian. He rejects Cross's theory of a Josianic edition of the Deuteronomistic History and assigns all the editions of the work, assuming there were multiple editions, to the exilic period. He also accepts the view of the Göttingen school that the deuteronomistic influence on Samuel was far greater than Martin Noth had seen. This, together with a theological judgment about the function of a commentary, has a profound influence on his interpretation of the book.

Although Klein recognizes that the Deuteronomistic Historian incorporated in his work "earlier documents whose limits and pre-canonical intentions may be occasionally assessed"—he mentions 1) Samuel at Shiloh (chapters 1-3), 2) the Ark narrative (4:1b-7:1), 3) the rise of Kingship (9:1-10:16; 10:17-27a; 10:27b-11:15), 4) Saul's battles (chapters 13-15), and 5) the history of David's rise (1 Sam. 16:14-2 Sam. 5)—he is not really interested in the theological intention of these earlier documents. Apparently he subscribes to Child's view that the theological significance of the text is restricted to its canonical form. At any rate, he is satisfied to interpret the deuteronomistic form of the text.

This is a defensible theological position, but it results in what this reviewer considers a very inadequate historical assessment of

these pre-deuteronomistic sources. On this score, McCarter's work is far superior. Moreover, Klein's concentration on the present deuteronomistic shape of the text sometimes makes it impossible to make sense of the text. The material in chapters 9-13 can hardly be sorted out without detailed attention to the pre-deuteronomistic shapes of the text. Of course, this involves hypothetical reconstruction, but such reconstruction is no more hypothetical than Klein's cavalier explanation of 10:8 as a gloss added in connection with 13:7b-15a (p. 92). He never explains why anyone would insert such a gloss, which makes absolute nonsense given the present narrative sequence which follows.

At times, however, Klein's concentration on the present shape of the text must be seen as a strength. In his discussion of the material in chapters 24 and 26, which he recognizes with most scholars as going back eventually to a single historical event, he refuses to waste all his energy and space on the difficult question of deciding which, if either, of the forms of the story is original. Instead he concentrates on the function of each of the stories in the present narrative of Samuel, which seems a far more profitable enterprise.

The physical layout of the commentary is quite readable, though somewhat compact, and, in my opinion, not as attractive as that of the Anchor Bible. Each section is headed with a bibliography, followed by Klein's translation and the text critical notes to the translation. Then comes a discussion of the form, structure, and setting of the section, followed by a section headed "Comment," where Klein gives his detailed exegesis. Finally, there is a summarizing "Explanation." I noted one glaring error in the proofreading of the manuscript. On page 252, a whole line of the text was apparently lost by haplography; something like the bracketed line must be restored: "Ahinoam and Abigail accompanied David when he fled to Achish, the king of Gath (27:3), and when he [was with the Philistine army at Aphek, they] became prisoners {The editors apparently turned this into the singular, 'a prisoner,' after the haplography} of the Amalekites (30:5)."

Klein's commentary is an important work. Together with McCarter's Anchor Bible commentary and Hans Joachim Stoebe's major work in the German *Kommentar zum*

Alten Testament series, it is likely to play a major role in the exegetical discussion of 1 Samuel for some time.

J. J. M. ROBERTS

Princeton Theological Seminary

van Seters, John. *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983. Pp. xiii + 399.

In this important work John van Seters offers the first truly comprehensive comparison of the historiographic literature of the Ancient Near East: early Greek, Mesopotamian, Hittite, Egyptian, West Semitic (this includes the statue of Idrimi, West Semitic memorial inscriptions, the annals of Tyre, the literature of Ugarit, and the *Phoenician History* of Philo Byblius), and Israelite historiography. The book is valuable for its survey of the non-Israelite historiographical literature and for its healthy corrective to one-sided comparisons between non-comparable items. Van Seters not only attacks the overdone apologetic claims for Israelite "historical consciousness," he also gives a valid and valuable critique of H. Cancik's failure, when comparing Mesopotamian and Hittite historiography, to pick the right Mesopotamian texts and of his failure, when comparing Egyptian and Hittite annals, to note the superior achievements of such Egyptian kings as Thutmose III.

One of the real strengths of the book is van Seters's attempt to define his terms carefully. His definition of history, derived from Huizinga, but elaborated by van Seters, is at least clear: "History is the intellectual form in which a civilization renders account to itself of its past." One may not agree with van Seters in disqualifying as history all those accounts which focus on the person of the king, as though history required a particular conception of peoplehood, but at least one knows what one is disagreeing with. His concern strictly to define the different genres of historiographical literature is also praiseworthy. In this connection, his rejection of the so-called *Königsnovelle* as a separate genre seems right on target.

On the other hand, van Seters sometimes appears to use his definitions to achieve the

historical results he desires. His argument against the existence of Assyrian chronicles, a view that he takes over against Grayson and Tadmor, is not convincing, and his claim that chronicle writing was limited to Babylon and did not begin until the Neo-Babylonian period is also less than convincing. His use of this claim is also misleading. One gets the impression from his treatment that one should not expect the existence of chronicles in pre-exilic Israel, since they are a late innovation in Babylon, but his choice of terminology, intentionally or not, obscures the fact that even by his reckoning the Babylonian chronicle tradition goes back to at least 747 B.C.—prior to Isaiah and one and a half centuries before the exile.

The real weakness of van Seters's work, however, is in his treatment of the Israelite material. As always, he demonstrates his acuteness in pointing out weaknesses in the positions of his opponents. His own reconstructions, however, are a tissue of improbabilities. Van Seters's basic thesis is that the Deuteronomistic Historian was the first Israelite history writer. He wrote in the exilic period, and both J and the author of the Court History of David came later. To achieve this complete reversal of the scholarly consensus of the last hundred years van Seters buys into the current fad of finding deuteronomistic influence everywhere that it is remotely possible. One would appreciate more exacting criteria for identifying the deuteronomistic hand. Since the use of pre-existent sources would also jeopardize his claims for the Deuteronomistic Historian, he is forced to argue for many large scale insertions into the Deuteronomistic History after its completion. According to him, the Elisha collection was added to the Deuteronomistic History later, the traditions of Solomon's wisdom and the story of the queen of Sheba is a later addition, and the Court History of David is a late addition.

To support this totally unconvincing literary analysis, van Seters must resort to some very dubious historical judgments. He claims that the description of the temple construction is completely the work of the Deuteronomistic Historian; he had no prior source for this account. That is undergirded by the claim that ancient Near Eastern building inscriptions commissioned by the king actually doing the building never go into such detail. Such a claim merely shows that van Seters has not

read many inscriptions. He also claims that the traditions about Samuel's sons serving as judges, Saul's Amalekite war, Jeroboam's golden calves, and the geographical lists in Joshua are complete fabrications made up by the Deuteronomistic Historian himself. What is more, the "all Israel" concept did not arise before the demise of the northern kingdom. "When Israel as a *political* state came to an end, Israel as a *religious* community came into being" (p. 275, n. 120). How he squares that with the evidence of the eighth century prophets he does not explain.

One could go on at length, but this is enough to indicate both the direction of van Seters's argument and this reviewer's difficulties with it. The strength of the book is in van Seters's masterful survey of the non-biblical historiographical literature—this alone is worth the price of the book—but its weakness, despite many acute observations, is van Seters's highly idiosyncratic and unconvincing treatment of the biblical material.

J. J. M. ROBERTS

Gottwald, Norman K., ed. *The Bible and Liberation: Political and Social Hermeneutics*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1983. Pp. v & 542. \$18.95 (paper).

This exciting volume, a revised and considerably expanded edition of the 1976 collection of the same title, presents reprints of essays or book excerpts by twenty-eight scholars representing several continents, a variety of vocations, and a wide range of methodologies in approaching biblical material. In fact the collection is basically new: only six of the essays appeared in the original edition, and no fewer than eighteen contributions are dated 1979-1983. The reprinted materials come from a range of publications so broad that most readers, whether pastors or scholars, will have encountered only a small portion of the collection through their usual reading of journals or perusal of publishers' booklists. The volume thus introduces most of us to significant resources for biblical interpretation available from less familiar sources, whether it be *Currents in Theology and Mission*, *The Biblical Archaeologist*, *Indian Theological Studies*, *New Testament Studies*, or *The Challenge of Basic Christian Communities*.

The material is divided into five parts. The opening essays on "Social Scientific Method in Biblical Studies" introduce the reader generally to the possibilities and problems of a sociological approach to the worlds of Ancient Israel and Early Christianity. Part II, "Social Class as a Hermeneutical Factor," moves immediately to the theological implications of such an approach, with half a dozen essays offering varying perspectives on the validity and value of being tuned in to social, economic, political, and cultural dimensions of the biblical writers' ancient contexts, and also to these dimensions of our own situations as Christians reading the book of our faith. These essays offer practical guidance (through examples from church communities located on several continents) in how to become aware of these dimensions of text and context as we study the Bible. Contributors to this section come from Italy, Canada, the U.S.A., Mexico, Brazil, and Germany; their diversity is typical of the geographic range represented in each part of the volume.

Parts III and IV offer sociological readings of aspects of the Old Testament and the New Testament. On the Old Testament side, the eight essays cluster around three topics: theological issues associated with the settlement of Israel in the land (Gottwald *et al.*), the role and status of women in ancient Israel (Bird, Meyers), and the location and function of prophets in Israelite society (Wilson, Mottu). The New Testament essays consider class distinctions among early Christians, the relationship between the social reality of the Roman Empire and images of the Kingdom of God, and women in the early church. Two important review essays describe recent research in sociological interpretation of the New Testament (Scroggs) and distinguish between "social description" and "sociological interpretation" (Gager) in this research.

Part V is entitled "The Bible in Political Theology and Marxist Thought." Here four essays seek to specify the biblical bases for Latin American Liberation Theology, as well as for the work of two Czech philosophers. The non-Marxist reader should *not* be turned away from this volume by the inclusion of these essays, any more than by phrases such as "materialist reading," "rebel church," or "Marxist Christians" which are parts of the titles of essays in Part II. The editors' goal in including this final section is clearly to

offer explicit statements of how the Bible functions among Marxists, some of whom call themselves Christian. For readers who suppose that the word "Christian" can never be modified by the word "Marxist," these essays offer an invitation to think again.

It should be emphasized that the authors represented in the volume as a whole are *not* tied to any one contemporary economic or political theory. Their commonality lies rather in their concern for the significance of social, economic, and/or political factors in the thinking of those who wrote and handed on the words of the Bible. In common the contributors would insist that to ignore these worldly realities is to miss some of the depth and power of the biblical message. To choose any one essay for special comment would do a disservice to the wide range of perspectives offered within the common concern—a range which in my view is a special strength of this volume and makes it well worth the price. Various aids make this fat book readily usable: a précis of each essay, a biographical note on each contributor, end notes giving clues to further reading, and full scriptural and subject indices.

The volume offers much spur to further thinking and plenty of ideas to debate (indeed the authors are often in critical dialogue with one another). It makes a good start in bridge-building in the four ambitious areas named in its Introduction: "between religion and the rest of life, . . . between the past as 'dead history' and the present as 'real life,' . . . between thought and practice, . . . between biblical academics and popular lay Bible study" (p. 2). Anyone interested in new emphases in biblical research and in church Bible study will find these essays welcome—though sometimes painful—and consistently challenging reading.

KATHARINE DOOB SAKENFELD
Princeton Theological Seminary

Brown, Raymond E. *Recent Discoveries and the Biblical World*. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1983. Pp. 101. \$4.95.

In addition to being one of the foremost contemporary biblical scholars of our day, Father Raymond E. Brown is also a devout churchman. He is probably best known in

the field of biblical studies for his encyclopaedic work on the Gospel of John and the Johannine epistles. In the present little book, *Recent Discoveries and the Biblical World*, Brown has written a popular account with a primarily Roman Catholic audience in mind, one of several popular books he has penned for non-professional students of the Bible. Thus his conviction comes through that it is "an essential religious duty to make respectable and reliable biblical knowledge available to the non-specialist" (p. 12), and to do so in a way that protects ordinary Jews and Christians "from the malady of biblical fundamentalism" (p. 12).

The book begins with a personal introduction that tells how Brown himself became interested in the study of the Bible through reading about how archaeological discoveries of documents and sites have thrown light on the Bible, and in particular through C. C. McCown's *Ladder of Progress in Palestine* (New York: Harper, 1943). Brown maintained this interest which eventually led him to edit the article on biblical archaeology and to co-author the article on biblical geography for *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*. The present book is adapted from the article Brown wrote on "Recent Contributions to Our Knowledge of the Bible" in 1982 for *The Great Ideas Today* (the annual supplement to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; cf. pp. 104-57), and has been published by Michael Glazier, Inc. as a companion to the Message series of commentaries. Brown expresses two hopes in connection with the publication of this little book: first, that perhaps as he was moved to a lifetime commitment to biblical studies by an initial interest in archaeological finds, so others might be too; and second, that "even a basic acquaintance with the civilizations that were the contexts of the biblical writers will lead to thoughtful reflection on how those civilizations conditioned the expression of the word of God" (p. 15).

After the Introduction the book is divided into two major sections, Part I on "Discoveries of Tablets and Scrolls" (pp. 21-50), and Part II on "Archaeological Discoveries and History" (pp. 53-94). Each section moves chronologically from the earliest historical period associated with the OT to the latest period associated with the NT.

Part I briefly surveys the discoveries of tablets and scrolls at Elba, Ugarit, Mari, Nuzi,

the Hittite Archives, the Amarna Egyptian Archives, Palestinian Finds, Elephantine, the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Nag Hammadi library, important manuscript finds for the text of the Bible (especially the Aleppo Codex for the OT and Codex Sinaiticus for the NT), and finally some dubious finds (or rather fraudulent claims—e.g., M. W. Shapira's claim in the late 19th century to have found a parchment containing an early Hebrew text of Deuteronomy discovered in the Dead Sea area). In presenting each discovery Brown comments briefly on where the sites are, when they were excavated, etc., and then gives a short explanation of the importance of the specific finds for the study of the Bible.

Part II presents archaeological discoveries at Jericho, Hazor, Megiddo, Shechem, and Arad as pertinent to the Old Testament. Brown then briefly discusses the problem of archeology and Old Testament dating, showing how this is particularly perplexing when it comes to dating the Israelite Conquest of Canaan and the Patriarchal Era. Brown's discussion of archaeological discoveries pertinent to the New Testament Period includes such items as various excavated inscriptions, the bones of a crucified man, the issue of the Shroud of Turin, sites in Jerusalem (the Second Temple, Herod's palace), Nazareth (Jesus' birthplace), Capernaum (Peter's home), and Rome (with a focus on Peter's burial place). The book has occasional pictures and illustrations scattered throughout. It ends with a few suggestions for further reading and an index of names and places.

The book is fairly selective in its presentation of both written documents and archaeological sites, giving the reader a taste of the kind of discoveries which have been made recently (20th century) and their importance for biblical studies. When it comes to the NT Brown curiously focuses on crucifixion, the Shroud of Turin, and the home towns and burial places of Jesus and Peter (no doubt because of the Roman Catholic audience). Little mention is made of the Apostle Paul or of discoveries bearing on early Christian communities in general which shed light on the kind of society in which they lived and worked. (Such exciting finds as the synagogue at Dura Europus are not included because they are not contemporary to the Biblical witness itself.)

On the whole, then, the book succeeds in providing a popular survey of several recent discoveries and their importance for understanding the Bible. If, however, one is looking for a more complete introduction to archaeological discoveries relevant to the study of the Bible, one would profit more from the standard introductions of Y. Aharoni, *The Archaeology of the Land of Israel* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1982), W. F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (new ed., rev. by W. G. Dever; Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1976), the appropriate articles in the *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume*, and other items listed in Brown's suggestions for further reading.

JEFFREY S. SIKER

The Graduate School
Princeton Theological Seminary

Beker, J. Christiaan. *Paul's Apocalyptic Gospel: The Coming Triumph of God*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982.

This book is a follow-up to Beker's 1980 volume, *Paul the Apostle: The Triumph of God in Life and Thought*. That earlier volume, which was for the most part critically acclaimed, provided a wealth of exegetical insights into Paul's world. For Beker, Paul was a builder of bridges between the abiding, "coherent center" of the Christian gospel and the various contingencies or diverse contexts into which Paul's gospel was addressed.

With that image of Paul as gospel bridge builder in mind, we may understand why this second book of Beker's was written. In this volume we find Beker's hermeneutical efforts to build a bridge between Paul's world and the world of the 20th century. If the former book gave us a fairly comprehensive view of Paul's thought, the question of Paul's continuing relevance for our own time remained to be answered. What kind of bridge, then, might be able to connect such very different and distant worlds?

For many in our time the answer was to be found among the Hal Lindsays and David Wilkersons: the neo-apocalyptic "rapture" crowd for whom Paul and other biblical writers are to be read in the light of certain parts of Daniel, Ezekiel, and Revelation, as well as in terms of certain latter-day mathematical formulas for calculating the end-

times. The Bible prophecy schools of interpretation have found wide acceptance in much of our modern culture. Their books dominate the "inspiration" sections of bookstores in suburban shopping malls. Their influence has even spread to the Oval Office.

The mainline churches, which haven't joined the stampede, have for the most part been reduced to an embarrassed silence before the anti-intellectual proof-texting of such popular sorcerers. We have, again for the most part, opted for non-apocalyptic interpretations of the biblical writers, including Paul. Much has been lost in the process: faithfulness to Paul, for one thing; a source of nourishment for modern people, for another.

In Beker's view, Paul was not a maker of books in the apocalyptic genre (e.g., Revelation), but the many apocalyptic themes or motifs in his letters mark him as apocalyptic in outlook. For Beker, Paul was an apocalyptic writer whose insights can offer needed counterweight and corrective to the new apocalyptic enthusiasms of our time, with the latter's "secret knowledge about the future, ethical passivity, disdain for God's world, and the elitism of the in-group" (p. 58).

However much Paul may have modified the apocalyptic climate of his time, the apocalyptic ingredients of his message are not just so much first-century husk which can now be safely discarded, so that the kernel of Pauline thought, purified of such out-of-date garb, can now be presented to the modern world without causing any false scandals. Or, to change the figure, what we tend to think of as the framework around an old picture is really a part of that picture. Again, apocalyptic elements, especially those themes which Beker identifies—vindication, universalism, dualism, and immanence—give Paul's message an unmistakably apocalyptic character, however much Paul may have infused these themes with new Christian content.

Beker here is trying to address himself to two distinct issues: "the issue under discussion, then, is twofold: Is the center of Paul's thought indeed to be located in his christologically determined future apocalyptic? And if this can be affirmed, is this apocalyptic gospel still a relevant gospel for our time?" (p. 65).

The first part of the above formulation is a question to be struggled with in the acad-

emy: Is apocalyptic indeed the "mother of Christian theology" (Käsemann), including the theology of Paul? That is a question for the history of theology. Many scholars, including many who would answer an emphatic Yes to the question, have been content to leave that question within academic walls. But Beker—and here, in this respect, we might compare him with Paul himself—will not let the issue rest there, and must be himself a builder of bridges. And so the other piece of the formula—relevance for today's church and society—must be dealt with.

The commendable quality of Beker's work (despite a certain redundancy of style noted here and there) is his dual commitment to "objective" historical scholarship (what a text *meant*, in Stendahl's terms) and an equal commitment to bring ancient texts to expression in today's context (what text *means*). The New Testament hermeneut must be a straddler of worlds, neither falling into the trap of modernizing ancient texts, nor equating faithfulness to those texts with some kind of archaizing of oneself.

I found the book very insightful, but one can also see how this world-straddling stance leaves Beker potentially vulnerable to attacks from both sides of the equation. Many in academia, somewhere along the line (perhaps upon receipt of their Ph.D.s), seem to take vows of obscurity and convolution. Questions of contemporary relevance are not even raised, indeed, they may even be thought to hinder "sound scholarship."

On the other hand, the "Relevance Now!" crowd will not know what to make of a book that assumes some familiarity with the works of Dodd, Cullmann, Moltmann *et al.*; for the neo-apocalypticists of our time, all such considerations are destined for the ash heap of the old order, and so, this book too may be dismissed as academic.

As much as I liked this book for its insights into both the biblical and the contemporary worlds, I view it as a book in search of an audience. Beker seems to be addressing two audiences, and so the book will probably satisfy neither audience fully.

But I hope pastors will read this book. We of all people must be inhabitants of multiple worlds. In this age of simultaneous biblical illiteracy and biblical fanaticism, books like this one can help us be more faithful to our

best vocational vision: builders of bridges, straddlers of worlds.

BRUCE W. CAMERON

St. Paul's Presbyterian Church
Philipsburg, Montana

Murphy-O'Connor, Jerome. *St. Paul's Corinth: Texts and Archaeology*. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1983. Pp. 192. \$7.95.

"At long last we have a book containing all that vital information on Corinth, its history, society, and culture, which is generally unavailable to the layperson or buried in unfamiliar ancient texts, archaeological reports, or obscure exegetical footnotes." So John H. Elliott aptly remarks in the Introduction (p. xiii) to this welcome addition to the Good News Studies series being published by Michael Glazier, Inc. The present volume is number six in the series, to which Father O'Connor earlier contributed number two, *Becoming Human Together: The Pastoral Anthropology of St. Paul* (1982). (He also authored the commentary on I Corinthians for the New Testament Message series [volume 10] published by Michael Glazier, Inc.)

O'Connor presents this study with the conviction that the more we know of Corinth, the more likely we are to understand Paul's Corinthian correspondence. This is in line with recent studies which focus more on the sociology of Pauline Christianity (e.g., Wayne Meeks, *The First Urban Christians* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982], Gerd Theissen, *The Social Setting of Pauline Christianity* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1982], Ronald F. Hock, *The Social Context of Paul's Ministry* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980]).

The book is divided into three major sections. Part 1, the longest and most interesting section (pp. 1-128), presents all the major primary literature referring to Corinth in the works of Greek and Latin authors from the 1st century B.C. through the 2nd century A.D. Appearing in English translation (usually from the Loeb editions), these primary materials vary in length from a sentence or two to extended passages. They are grouped chronologically by author rather than topically or historically. (The exception is Pausanias, who by far provides the most extensive material and thus serves as a good entry way into the

literature as a whole.) Because of this format there is necessarily some repetition from one author to the next. Sources pertinent to Corinth are extracted from twenty-one different authors, including Cicero, Strabo, Philo, Petronius, Pliny the Elder, Josephus, Dio Chrysostom, Plutarch, Suetonius, and Dio Cassius, with the most important passages coming from Strabo, Plutarch, and especially Pausanias. Each passage cited is followed by a brief commentary in which O'Connor provides basic information about the author and highlights the importance or implications of what is being said.

The framework of Part 1 is very clear and easy to get around for reference. The texts presented vary from early "tour guides" of Corinth (e.g., Pausanias), to geographical accounts (Strabo), to history (Dio Cassius), and miscellaneous remarks in letters, poetry, satires, and more. The various materials help the student of the New Testament to appreciate better the place of Corinth as a major economic and commercial center, and the strategic importance for establishing and maintaining the church there. The isthmus at Corinth (and the famous Isthmian Games), the harbors, Acrocorinth, the major roads and trade routes, the history, the geography, the buildings, the significance and renown of Corinthian bronze, and more all receive attention.

Part 2 (pp. 129-152) asks the question, "When Was Paul in Corinth?" In this section O'Connor reviews the texts regarding the Edict of Claudius (Acts 18:2), and offers A.D. 41 as the most probable date for the edict. He then discusses the probable date of Paul's arrival in Corinth, arguing that Paul could not have reached Corinth before A.D. 45. Finally, he considers the Proconsul Gallio, who is mentioned in Acts 18:12-17 and is the one clear link between the chronology of Paul's life and the general history of the times. O'Connor surveys the text of the fragmentary inscription addressed to Gallio from the emperor Claudius, discussing its date and purpose (dating Gallio's term of office in A.D. 51-52).

Part 3 (pp. 153-172) deals with four areas where the contribution of archaeology to the study of the Corinthian correspondence is especially significant. The first presents the physical structure of house-churches and the problem of the eucharist (I Cor. 11). The

second examines temple banquets and the issue of food offered to idols. The third deals with "the work place and the apostolate," in which O'Connor states that the workshop was a good choice for a missionary center. The fourth and final area is about letters of recommendation and inscriptional parallels which might account for Paul's reference in 2 Cor. 3:1-3 to letters of recommendation written on the heart rather than on tablets of stone. The book concludes with an appendix containing the Greek text of the Gallio inscription along with a line by line discussion. In addition to a helpful bibliography there are indexes for classical authors, subjects, and New Testament passages.

The strongest part of the book is the first part. O'Connor's arrangement of the material is easy to follow, and his comments accompanying each selection are judicious, critical, and helpful. Part 2 is necessarily technical in its rehearsal of the dating of the Edict of Claudius and the term of office for Gallio. And as O'Connor himself admits, solutions are at best tentative. Part 3 is at once suggestive and rather speculative. The explanation of the letter of recommendation written on the heart instead of stone is unnecessarily grounded in archaeological evidence rather than more simply being seen as an allusion to Jeremiah 31.

This book will provide a useful and handy reference work for those interested in the history, geography, and sociology of Corinth from the perspective of the ancient authors.

JEFFREY S. SIKER

MacDonald, Dennis Ronald. *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1983. Pp. 144. \$9.95.

There is much debate regarding where the historical Paul should be placed on the continuum between the social conservatism expressed in the deutero-Pauline Pastoral Epistles and the apocalyptic sectarianism of the communities behind such legends and writings as represented in the Acts of Paul. Both claim to be the authentic heirs and interpreters of Paul's teachings. Both fought over the memory of the apostle. This battle over Paul came to its height in the middle of the second century when Marcion, the

ecclesiastical establishment, and the beginnings of Montanism all claimed to be the rightful interpreters of Paul.

This is the situation which Dennis R. MacDonald addresses in his suggestive and intriguing book, *The Legend and the Apostle: The Battle for Paul in Story and Canon*. MacDonald focuses his study by presenting the ways the Apostle Paul has been remembered in the Acts of Paul and the Pastoral Epistles. He argues that the Paul presented in the Pastoral Epistles has received too much press in how the apostle has been remembered in the history of the church. In this book MacDonald seeks to even the score a bit by presenting the Paul of the legends, to remind us "that the interpretation of Paul in the Pastoral Epistles was not the only one permissible within the Pauline heritage" (p. 98).

The importance of oral tradition has, naturally, long been recognized, but in New Testament studies it has been addressed almost exclusively within the arena of the Jesus traditions. We feel on safer ground dealing with literary documents. And since Paul has left us an extensive literary corpus, the almost total neglect of oral traditions regarding Paul is understandable. But still this should not dissuade us entirely from addressing the role of oral legends outside the perimeters of the Jesus traditions. In this respect MacDonald's study is refreshing in the way it tackles the issue of the oral traditions, the legends, about the Apostle Paul which can be discerned within the apocryphal Acts of Paul, while not ignoring the difficulties that such materials pose.

MacDonald argues that both the Pastoral Epistles and the Acts of Paul have used the same oral legends about the Apostle Paul, the Pastoral Epistles negatively, and the Acts of Paul positively. His thesis is that "the author of the Pastoral Epistles wrote in Paul's name in order to counteract the image of Paul as given in stories told by women" (p. 14). The women told these stories to justify their celibate ministries, which caused great turmoil among the established households and established church of the day in Asia Minor (cf. p. 76).

In order to present a controlled study of the oral traditions about Paul, MacDonald concentrates on three legends in the apocryphal Acts of Paul: the story of Thecla, the story of Paul and the baptized lion, and the

story of Paul's martyrdom. He chooses these particular legends because each is attested in early church fathers, each follows a narrative pattern not found elsewhere in the Acts of Paul, and each has its own integrity even within its present literary context in the Acts of Paul.

In chapter 1, MacDonald begins by presenting the content and form of the stories themselves, making creative use of methods developed within the field of folklore. He appeals to several folkloristic laws regarding the oral form of stories: the law of opening, the law of concentration on a leading character, the law of contrast, the law of twins (two minor characters appearing with no individual distinguishing features), the law of the single strand, the law of repetition, the use of tableaux scenes, and the law of closing. He demonstrates how each of the three stories from the Acts of Paul conforms to this oral form of stories, while at the same time noting several narrative inconsistencies.

In chapter 2, MacDonald tries to get at the identity of the storytellers behind the legends, paying special attention to their gender, geographic location, and social world. He identifies them as primarily women, living in Asia Minor, in conflict with the Roman Empire and the household structure of the day.

MacDonald then seeks to show how the Pastoral Epistles were expressly written to combat the legends regarding Paul which were used by these women to justify their behavior over against social customs of Asia Minor, especially by not fulfilling their roles within the household structure by living as celibates who fervently hoped in the apocalyptic return of the Lord. The Pastoral letters share the hope for the return of the Lord, if less radically, but differ in the stance the Christian has in the present world. MacDonald puts it well when he states that "whereas the legends pit the household and the church against each other as competing social institutions, the Pastorals identify the strength of the church with that of the household. Irresponsibility to one's family is worse than apostasy" (p. 72). The author of the Pastoral Epistles writes in Paul's name so as to quash the legends about the apostle which substantiated the anti-social behavior of a segment of the church in Asia Minor.

In the last two chapters, MacDonald discusses the victory of the Pastoral Epistles on

the one hand (chapter 4), and the victory of the legends on the other (chapter 5). The Pastoral Epistles are clearly victors regarding the memory of Paul in that they become canonical letters attributed to Paul, whereas the Acts of Paul are rejected as apocryphal tales. But the legends have a victory of their own, although less pronounced than the Pastorals. The victory of the legends is in the canonization of Thecla as a saint, and as a model for women in the development of the monastic life of the early and medieval church. Thus, MacDonald concludes that in the battle for Paul's memory there were no decisive victors, that both the Pastorals and the legends won and lost.

The book is well documented and researched, containing helpful indexes and an extensive bibliography. On the whole, MacDonald's thesis is compelling, if overstated in places. The book is well written and carefully analyzes the three legends about Paul in relation to the Pastoral Epistles and the social context of the church in Asia Minor in the middle of the second century. The only curiosity is the brief conclusion (pp. 97-103), in which MacDonald asks what we should then do with the Pastorals, given the backdrop of the legends. He argues that it is only with the backdrop of the legend tradition that the Pastorals are a legitimate development of Pauline tradition. He then poses the challenge that "once we recognize that the Pastorals represent but one option within the Pauline tradition, we are obligated to decide which of the interpretations of Paul we shall prefer" (p. 102), as if one cannot have an integrated version. He argues that because the two images compete with each other we must choose which of the two will be more normative. But has not the church in its NT canon already made that choice, for better or worse? Is it not possible to present the legend material about Paul in such a way that the memory of Paul preserved in the Pastorals is enriched and the horizons expanded, without viewing them as exclusive images between which we must still choose?

JEFFREY S. SIKER

Juel, Donald. *Luke-Acts: The Promise of History*. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1983. Pp. 138. \$7.95 (paper).

In this book Donald Juel performs a double service by providing an introduction to Luke-Acts which lay people and students can use with confidence, and by presenting a revisionist reading of the text that has gained some currency in academic circles over the last dozen years. Pastors who would like a briefing on recent developments in the field can hardly do better than turn here.

The foundation of modern Lukan studies was laid after the First World War by Martin Dibelius and Henry Cadbury. They showed what great strides could be made when the issue of the historical accuracy of the text was suspended in favor of a study of Luke's literary techniques and theological aims. By the 1950s it was common, especially among leading German exegetes, to understand the two-volume work as Luke's response to the delay of the Parousia. It was Luke's attempt to get the church—made up by this point largely of Gentiles with little investment in Israel's past—to adjust to the long haul of history, and it was at the same time Luke's plea for political accommodation with Rome.

As prevalent as that reading was and is, it has been sharply questioned by Nils Dahl, and above all by Jacob Jervell in a series of articles collected under the title, *Luke and the People of God* (1972). Jervell argues that the two volumes are Luke's attempt to construe the history of the church as the latest chapter in the history of God's people. It is not that Gentiles replace the Jews in the divine plan, but that believers among the Gentiles join the repentant among the Jews to constitute Israel, now decisively restored. The church is neither the new Israel nor even the true Israel, but the one Israel to which God has been faithful all along.

In large measure, Juel's book is a popularization of the Jervell thesis. The proper context for reading Luke-Acts is not the delay of the Parousia, but the crisis in communal identity that was widespread in Judaism at the time.

Of course life for Jews who believed in Jesus had changed drastically from the early days by the time Luke wrote. Jerusalem was no longer the center of the earth;

Gentiles were flooding into the church; relations with other Jews were troubled. In the face of all contrary evidence, however, Luke-Acts argued that the history of Jesus and his followers belonged within the history of God's people, Israel (p. 117).

This point of view represents nothing less than a paradigm shift in Lukan studies. It is presented here with clarity and skill.

There is in my judgment much merit to the new approach. It can be sustained throughout the text, even though Juel wisely restricts his own analysis to representative passages. While none of Juel's exegesis is original (that is not the intent), it is fresh all the same and almost always convincing, especially his treatment of the birth narrative, the portrait of Jesus as prophet, Peter's speech in Acts 2, Stephen's speech in Acts 7, and the career of the Lukan Paul.

At only three points would I question the way the study unfolds. There is, in the first place, no investigation of Luke's eschatology beyond the passing denial that Luke-Acts was written for the purpose of coping with the delay of the Lord's return. On the general point Juel is surely correct. There are no signs in the narrative that the delay created a crisis for Luke's community. Yet that is not the end of the matter since there are signs, and persistent ones at that, of adjustment on Luke's part to the new circumstance. The delay is not a problem, but it is a presupposition nevertheless. Luke clarifies the relation of his contemporaries to the End, not because he means to abandon the expectation of its imminence (as is often held), but precisely because he means to reaffirm that expectation in modified form despite the delay. Luke walks a fine eschatological line, still believing the End to be sudden and soon, though not at once. These are matters of great import to him, and also matters of some subtlety with which the beginning reader needs a helping hand.

In the second place, Juel attempts to refurbish Luke's tarnished reputation through an appeal to extenuating circumstance. Whereas critics have detected a triumphalism in the narrative, giving the church a dangerous warrant for anything it chooses to undertake, Juel detects at most an optimistic openness to the future, justified by the need to reassure Jewish-Christians suffering

in the aftermath of the wars with Rome (66-70 A.D.). The problem here is that nothing in the text suggests that Luke's readers were directly caught in the wartime devastation or indirectly anguished over Jerusalem's fall. With no hard data to support the theory of previous pain, there is no good reason to excuse Luke's unnuanced endorsement of all that transpires.

Finally, there is the problem of how the hermeneutical implications of Luke-Acts are to be framed. For Juel, Luke's enduring contribution lies in his affirmation of history's promise. As Juel says in conclusion,

We need a philosophy, a workable social order, and an ability to appreciate God's providential ordering of the creation. We require a sense of the larger history of which we are a part, a history whose beginning and whose end are in the hands of a God who will ultimately triumph over the forces of darkness. Luke's optimism may be naive. Yet in our time, in a society where Christians have real power or access to power, abandoning creation to the forces of darkness would be a premature surrender. The apocalyptic mentality is more dangerous, perhaps, than naive optimism. . . . Its [apocalyptic's] preoccupation with crises of cosmic proportions can conceal the small wounds we regularly inflict on creation (p. 123).

Many of us will want to second those sentiments, especially given the current apocalyptic mood. Yet they do not flow naturally from the reading of the text which Juel sets out. If this exegesis is correct, Luke prizes the church's continuity with Israel, not the phenomenon of history as such. In that case the pertinent question is what significance there is for the church today in identifying itself as Israel when the circumstances no longer pertain which made Luke's confirmation of that identity so pressing. Juel passes over that issue in favor of another one altogether. The irony is that the issue Juel does choose to address, history vs. apocalyptic, invokes the terms of the debate that raged prior to the appearance of Jervell's essays, when Luke was thought (in light of the Parousia's delay) to have de-eschatologized the kerygma for the sake of *Heilsgeschichte*. However persuasive Juel's concluding brief

for Luke may be, it is based not on the new exegetical paradigm he endorses, but on the old one he had presumably left behind.

Still, in most respects this book is a success, and we may even be permitted the hope it will spark a modest Lukan renaissance in our churches. Luke-Acts accounts for more than one-fourth of the New Testament, yet Acts in particular often fails to get the hearing it deserves. It is under-represented in most lectionaries, except at Pentecost, and even when consulted it is often misconstrued as an eyewitness record of the church's birth. Moreover, it is rarely read wholistically or in tandem with the gospel. Juel's work can help us redress the balance and correct the misreadings. It ought to have a place in every parish library as a first-rate teaching aid.

DAVID R. ADAMS
Princeton Theological Seminary

Pilgrim, Walter E. *Good News to the Poor: Wealth and Poverty in Luke-Acts*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1981. Pp. 198. \$7.95.

Scholarly circles have long recognized the preponderance of language about wealth and poverty in Luke's two-volume work, and church people are becoming increasingly aware of the challenges to discipleship presented by the world economic crisis. But talk in the church about the appropriate Christian response to those challenges most often starts with general theological principles of justice and mercy rather than any specific or relevant biblical scholarship. Church publications about wealth and poverty tend to concentrate on theological imperatives to do good, inserting only occasional proof texts in parentheses to support conclusions drawn from other than biblical arguments. Walter Pilgrim brings good news indeed in the form of solid biblical material on the subject in *Good News to the Poor*.

Good News to the Poor offers the pastor and serious layperson a helpful introduction to many of the critical problems confronting the reader of Luke-Acts, without belaboring the nuances of scholarly debate. Pilgrim makes a remarkably balanced presentation, in non-technical language, of diverse arguments surrounding issues of interpretation and social description of early Christianity, and de-

fends his own conclusions clearly and understandably. "Perhaps the impact of this book," he writes, "will rest mostly in bringing together some of the results of these [critical] studies in a systematic and intelligible way for the non-specialist" (p. 12). There is no question that he has achieved that goal, and the invitation to go and do likewise should be sent out abroad. It is long past time for the church and the academy again to be in constructive conversation about issues of common interest.

Pilgrim proposes that "the basic theme of Jesus' preaching according to Luke [is] the proclamation of good news to the poor" (p. 17), and he asks two questions: Who are the poor for Luke? and, What is the good news preached to them? As background for answering those questions, he explores Old Testament and early Jewish evidence about economic life, religious attitudes toward wealth and poverty, and the Synoptic witness to the beginnings of the Christian movement and its relation to the poor. The study then turns to a redaction-critical investigation of twenty-six Lukan pericopes that relate to the themes of wealth and poverty, divided into the categories of "The Call to Total Surrender of One's Possessions," "The Dangers of Wealth," "The Right Use of Possessions," and "A Sharing Community." Pilgrim concludes that Luke-Acts was written substantially to confront rich Christians with the dual challenge of the suffering of the poor and the right use of possessions.

Support for this thesis comes in large measure from a study by Luise Schottroff and Wolfgang Stegemann, *Jesus von Nazareth: Hoffnung der Armen* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1978), which argues similarly that Luke is the "evangelist of the rich" (p. 152) who urges a modified form of communal life for his church. The voluntary poverty of Jesus and his disciples, the parable of the dishonest steward, Zacchaeus' philanthropy, and the utopian picture of the Jerusalem community are among the texts invoked as evidence that Luke's own congregation was sorely deficient in such attitudes toward possessions and needed to be exhorted in that direction.

The importance of Zacchaeus becomes particularly central for Pilgrim, who claims that the story is an illustration of the parable of the dishonest steward, and moreover that it has "symbolic and summary significance

for Luke's presentation of Jesus' mission . . . [as] the paradigmatic Lukan example of how salvation takes place and what authentic salvation involves" (p. 130). Because the main character of the pericope is a tax collector (one of Luke's favorite subjects), the event ends Jesus' public ministry, and the report concludes with a christological statement in 19:10, Pilgrim maintains that the story of Zacchaeus is the "the most important Lukan text on the subject of the right use of possessions" (p. 129). Zacchaeus is the "model for all well-to-do Christians" (p. 130).

Unfortunately, there is not sufficient evidence to indicate that Luke assigns so central a significance to the Zacchaeus episode. No literary relationship exists between the parable in 16:1-9 and the account in 19:1-10, and if any story were to illustrate the parable of the unjust steward it would more likely be that of the rich man and Lazarus in 16:19-31. The story of Zacchaeus simply cannot bear the weight Pilgrim lays on it, and one comes away wondering just how sturdy his entire argument is as a result.

It is very tempting to search for a coherent doctrine on the subject of wealth because Luke makes such frequent mention of it, but there are too many texts whose ostensible subject is economic that on closer examination prove to serve metaphorical and theological purposes in the narrative. Pilgrim might have done well to heed Luke Johnson's caution: "Although Luke consistently talks about possessions, he does not talk about possessions consistently" (*The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts* [Missoula: Scholars, 1977] p. 130).

The weakness of his attempted synthesis notwithstanding, Pilgrim's study is a most valuable tool for use in the church, particularly as the 196th General Assembly's paper on "Christian Faith and Economic Justice" is being distributed for study. For believers who claim peculiar authority for scripture in our theological decision-making, it behooves us to make responsible use of the New Testament. *Good News to the Poor* can contribute significantly to careful reading of Luke-Acts in the church.

Technically, the book is surprisingly marred by careless editing—numerous typographical and grammatical errors detract readily from what is otherwise a most readable style. A very complete six-page bibliography in three languages will direct the reader to

further study on many issues raised, and copious footnotes document the argument.

BETH JOHNSON

The Graduate School
Princeton Theological Seminary

Sokolowski, Robert. *The God of Faith and Reason: Foundations of Christian Theology*. Notre Dame, IN, and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1982. Pp. xiv + 172. \$15.95.

Every now and then someone writes that rare book, a textbook that makes an original contribution. This is such a textbook. Sokolowski, who teaches at Catholic University of America in Washington, DC, wishes to introduce people to thinking about God. This in itself is unusual today. Only writers of spirituality tend to talk about God rather than books about God. In addition, he deals with the relation of reason and faith, and again not in the usual sterile neo-orthodoxy way of attacks on natural theology, nor the tiresome evangelical way of producing evidence for belief in God. His concern is with how the intellect has some actual content when it turns to think of God; for even to have faith, the mind focuses on something (presumably). Finally, he is novel in the way he describes how God comes before the intellect. He uses what he has learned from phenomenology, but without a drop (well, hardly a drop) of its jargon. Did one not know any phenomenology, one would not realize that it was being used. What Sokolowski does is to show us that by using our minds to attend to contrasts we may come to discern what is meant by God. By drawing distinctions between things, distinctions which for the most part would not spring to mind without the Bible, the mind comes to apprehend the reality of God. Faith, through the use of the intellect, arrives at understanding, and indeed has God present to it. Sokolowski is not always successful. For example, on the relation of the natural virtues to Christianity, he lost me in some very tangled and convoluted reasoning. But he does score some bull's-eyes.

The center of Sokolowski's concern is God the Creator. This is refreshing, if not wholly novel today, because of the stress on the incarnation in both neo-orthodoxy and evan-

gelical theology, and the virtual exclusive stress on the Spirit (or is it spirit) in liberal theology and in glossalalia. Sokolowski writes on the first page:

Words like "incarnation" and "redemption," "eucharist," "charity," "conversion," and "hope," do not simply name things that show up in human experience; what they name is determined by the God who is involved with such things.

To learn how to think about him and the relationship of the world to him is the primary task of Christian theology, claims Sokolowski. I submit that he has succeeded in teaching us how to think on these matters, matters on which many biblical scholars, theologians, pastors, and lay people today have either forgotten or never properly learned. From study of his book one can learn how to tell the difference between those who do not and those who do know what they are talking about. Living as we do in the vicinity of the Tower of Babel, such an ability is crucial for faithfulness to God.

DIOGENES ALLEN

Princeton Theological Seminary

Frye, Roland M., ed. *Is God a Creationist? The Religious Case Against Creation-Science*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983. Pp. viii + 205. \$15.95.

The recent controversy over the teaching of "creationism" in public schools in the United States, a controversy that achieved wide publicity in the 1982 Arkansas court case, *McLean v. Arkansas Board of Education*, but which has by no means abated, deserves thoughtful, theological analysis. This book, a collection of essays by authorities opposed to creationism, provides just such an analysis, and more. It also puts the controversy in its historical and sociological setting, and though the concern of the book is more theological than scientific, it does touch on the scientific aspects of the debate.

Roland Frye, the editor, is a distinguished English professor at the University of Pennsylvania, but he also holds the Master of Divinity degree from Princeton Theological Seminary, and, for an outsider to the professional guild, he is remarkably conversant with

contemporary biblical studies. He contributes an introductory overview and a concluding epilogue to frame the other eleven essays, which he organizes in four sections. Part one, which looks at the root of the conflict and the hidden agenda behind the debate, contains essays by Edwin A. Olson, Professor of Geology and Physics at Whitworth College, Richard W. Berry, Professor of Geology at San Diego State University, and Langdon Gilkey, Professor of Theology at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. Part two, which attacks the creationists' misuse of the Bible, consists of contributions by Bruce Vawter, a distinguished Roman Catholic Old Testament scholar, Davis A. Young, Professor of Geology at Calvin College, and Conrad Hyers, Professor of Comparative Mythology and the History of Religions at Gustavus Adolphus College. Young, an evangelical and son of the famous evangelical Old Testament scholar, E. J. Young, critiques the creationists from the side of geology as well as from his conservative evangelical understanding of the Bible. Part three, with essays by the famous Harvard botanist, Asa Gray, who died in 1888, and the contemporary Harvard astronomer, Owen Gingerich, puts the lie to the claim that modern scientific theories of the origin of the universe require honest people to reject either Christianity or those theories. Finally, part four contains positive treatments of the biblical and theological understanding of creation by representative spokesmen of the Roman Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant traditions: Pope John Paul II, Nahum M. Sarna, Professor of Biblical Studies at Brandeis University, and Bernhard W. Anderson, Professor Emeritus of Old Testament Theology at Princeton Theological Seminary.

The contributors to this volume, as a mere glance at the preceding list makes obvious, do not share the same theology or even the same religious tradition. What they do share is the conviction that creationism is neither good science nor good theology. Perhaps the major contribution of the volume is its demonstration that creationism is not *the* Christian understanding of world origins, that an acceptance of evolution as a scientific explanation is *not* tantamount to a rejection of the Christian faith. The creationist position is representative of only a narrow, almost exclusively North American, segment of con-

temporary Western Christendom, and few, if any, prominent theologians, biblical scholars, or scientists can be counted among the ranks of the creationists.

Though the creationists bear the major brunt of the critique in this book, many of the authors also attack an anti-religious use of science that pretends the straw man offered by creationism is the only alternative to a non-religious view of the universe. Thus Gilkey cites Julian Huxley, Gaylord Simpson, Jacob Bronowski, and Carl Sagan as authors in which one encounters a "view of science as dissolving religious truth," a view which shows itself as ill-informed about other ways of knowing—historical inquiry, art, morals, philosophy, or religion—as creationism is of scientific knowing. The anti-religious proponents of science too often forget the limits of scientific knowledge. To quote Vawter:

Some popular presentations of evolution, both in print and in the visual media, seem to be more mystical than scientific. The process is spoken of in teleological terms, venturing into areas where science has no right to intrude. There is marvel over the design in nature, which is really to make a theological affirmation abstracted from the entity that gives theology its name. Design leads to the extraordinary assumption—really contradictory to classical evolutionism—that the evolutionary change somehow took place by some creature's willing or wishing it so, as though reptiles substituted feathers for scales when they decided to fly (p. 78).

One might object that this book presents only one side of the religious debate, though it presents that side very persuasively. To such an objection, this reviewer's response would be that, when the creationists answer the arguments presented in this book in an equally scholarly and responsible fashion, their side will receive a fair hearing. Until then, this book can be recommended as the best work available for placing the creationist controversy in proper theological perspective.

J. J. M. ROBERTS

Swartley, Willard M. *Slavery, Sabbath, War, and Women: Case Issues in Biblical Interpretation*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1983. Pp. 367. \$15.95 (paper).

Swift, Louis J. *The Early Fathers on War and Military Service*. Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1983. Pp. 164. \$7.95 (paper).

Yoder, John Howard. *When War Is Unjust: Being Honest in Just-War Thinking*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984. Pp. 95. \$5.95 (paper).

The three books reviewed here are quite different in scope and method, but all are concerned (at least in part) with Christian thought on the morality of war, and all are written with an eye toward the present danger of nuclear apocalypse. Each offers an important challenge to Christians to rethink their moral heritage.

In *The Early Fathers on War and Military Service*, volume 19 in the Message of the Fathers of the Church series, Louis Swift provides a useful survey of early Christian attitudes toward war, the military, and the state. According to an introduction by Thomas Halton, general editor of the series, each volume is to deal with a specific theme, providing "liberal citations from the Fathers in modern English translation and a minimum of linking commentary" (p. 12). Swift presents his own translations of substantial passages from the literature of the first five centuries, from 1 Clement (the New Testament writings are not treated except as historical background in the introductory chapter) to Ambrose and Augustine. The material is organized chronologically and into two divisions, before and after Constantine. The only footnotes are references to modern editions of the original texts; a brief bibliography includes only the major secondary literature since Harnack's *Militia Christi* (1905). This is a handy sourcebook that will prove quite useful in church or academic curricula. The translations are successful (although perhaps a bit glib on a very few occasions); they bring across the force of the wordplays and metaphors in early pacifist literature.

The Early Fathers on War is more than an anthology of sources, however. It presents an

interpretive history of early Christian thought and practice. Swift goes against the common view that the church suffered a moral lapse in the fourth century, in which earlier, non-violent ideals were abandoned in the wake of the church's newfound secular power; instead he sees the development in Ambrose and Augustine toward just war theory as a coming of age of Christian moral responsibility. He points out that even in the centuries before Constantine, no total consensus on the issue of Christian participation in military life was reached, and that at least some Christians fought side by side with pagan comrades in the Roman legions without qualm. These important observations may serve as a corrective to a simplistic reading of the whole of early Christian thought as pacifist.

Swift shows a tendency to err in the opposite direction, however, to the point of reading the first Christian centuries only as stages in the evolution of just war theory. From observations that the pacifist Tertullian viewed both church and empire as instruments of God and encouraged prayer for the emperor, and that from Paul's writings on, Christian piety found in military discipline and courage a model for emulation, he draws the conclusion that inconsistencies and contradictions were present in Christian thinking on war, military service, and the state from the very beginning. On a different tack, Swift repeatedly insists that early Christians objected to participation in military life because of the requirement of idolatry, *not* of violence, occasionally basing this supposition on the silence of a text. This either-or phrasing of the question is not supported by argument; it should be, because it directly counters other recent works that explain that in pre-Constantinian Christianity, violence was itself understood as idolatry (see, for example, the careful treatment of Christian attitudes toward violence and bloodshed in Michael Gorman's *Abortion in the Early Church*).

These interpretations are part of Swift's effort to show that Christian just war theory did not spring forth in full armor from Augustine's forehead. Since, as he argues, early Christianity knew no consensus on the question of violence, "when the issue of idolatry was resolved at the time of Constantine in the fourth century, the principal source of opposition to the state was removed, and the

fundamentally positive outlook which had existed from the beginning began to show itself with less reserve" (p. 25). This simply does not let the early sources speak for themselves. That a Christian pacifist in the second century could pray for the emperor is no more "ambiguous" or "inconsistent" than that the selfsame apostle who urged subordination to civil authorities (not "obedience," as Swift translates on p. 23) could spend a substantial part of his Christian career in the empire's prisons; or that Martin Luther King, Jr., could require participants in an illegal demonstration to submit to arrest and police assault without resistance. Swift has failed to understand the ironic character of subordination in the early Christian pacifist tradition: that tradition is consequently conceived as an aberration on the way to the fully matured moral thought of Augustine. The possibility of considering pacifism a genuine moral option in early Christianity is swept away by Swift's conclusion that "a conditional acceptance of war and military service was in the offing from the very beginning" (p. 160).

The consideration of Augustine's thought is much more balanced, and provides an important perspective on the saint's contribution to the just war tradition. Those accustomed to hearing Augustine hailed as the "father" of just war theory will be surprised by Swift's compelling portrait of a man consumed with the problem of how the Christian may make and sustain *peace* in an evil world. Human sinfulness renders terrible and tragic the responsibility taken on by the Christian who resorts to force to restrain a greater evil. That pathos—much neglected in hasty modern appeals to the Christian just war tradition—is held before the reader's eyes in this book. Swift muses that, in view of the radical nature of human sinfulness, "it is hard to imagine any use of force that is not prone to excess" (p. 159). Although in the first half of the book he seems impatient to get to the beginnings of the just war tradition, once he arrives there he settles in with somberness and clarity of thought. On balance, *The Early Fathers on War* is as valuable for Swift's interpretive perspective as for the sources themselves.

William D. Swartley's *Slaves, Sabbath, War, and Women: Case Issues in Biblical Interpretation* is written as a primer on interpretive method which leads the reader step by step

through an inductive study of the use of the Bible in ethical thinking. The author presents four "case studies" in hermeneutics, showing that it has been possible for Christians to make appeal to the same Bible for support of opposite positions on slavery, sabbath/Sunday observance, the waging of war, and role relationships between men and women. Each chapter concludes with Swartley's observations on the hermeneutical issues involved in the case; these remarks point forward to his discussion of models of understanding the Bible and his own proposed model in chapter 5.

This book was deliberately designed as a pedagogical tool. Extensive notes and a bibliography for each of the four case issues help the student interested in further research. The book's conclusion provides twenty-two theses for biblical interpretation, with cross references to the preceding chapters; four appendices include a study guide on views of Scripture, indices of relevant biblical passages on the issues of war and marriage relationships, and a discussion of Ephesians as a model for biblical interpretation beyond the scope of social ethics alone. Swartley suggests smaller study groups begin with Appendices 1 and 4 and then work through the theses in the book's conclusion, using the preceding chapters as background material. Although this would certainly save time, it would also cost the student the benefit of reading through the case studies as they are presented: to speak pedagogically, one might more effectively learn the thesis, "Quoting the Bible does not in itself guarantee correctness of position" (p. 229) when pro-slavery appeals to Scripture are still ringing in one's ears. In this regard, the layout of the book is clearly strategic, proceeding from an issue enjoying a consensus in modern Christendom (slavery) to the issues of Christian participation in war and role relationships between men and women, both currently centers of heated controversy within and between churches and denominations.

In the chapter on war, a spectrum of pacifist and nonpacifist positions on the bewildering array of biblical materials is presented in a convenient outline, following the pattern of the other case studies. This chapter and Appendix 2, "Pacifist Answers to New Testament Problem Texts," point up a number of important issues in the current discussion of biblical interpretation—the relation be-

tween the Testaments, the problem of diversity within Scripture, etc. The author's own pacifist convictions lead him to elaborate a very eclectic hermeneutical model. For example, Swartley praises the usefulness to Christian pacifism of historical-critical method, which enables him to dismiss passages in the Old Testament that appear to condone war as expressions of Israelite nationalism and human sinfulness. But he draws back from applying historical criticism to the New Testament. This hesitancy is significant, since some historians, proceeding on historical-critical grounds, have attributed the pacifism of earliest Christianity to its (historically accidental) distance from spheres of secular power. Swartley justifies the selective application of historical criticism to the *Old Testament* alone by appeal to the dispensationalist theory of Pilgram Marpeck, a 17th-century Anabaptist—a move hardly calculated to win followers from the ranks of historical-critical biblical scholarship. It seems that the proposed hermeneutical model has simply been fitted to the contours of the pacifist position: for example, Thesis 7 (p. 230) speaks of the importance of church tradition "especially in the second to the fourth centuries AD"—that is, before Constantine. Again, the *Haustafeln* ethics may be qualified by the observations that they arose in a particular social and cultural situation in the first century (see Thesis 17); but the normative validity of the Sermon on the Mount ethics is not subject to any such qualification (see Thesis 18). This approach is invaluable in giving the reader an overview of the hermeneutical moves made by a traditional Mennonite pacifism; but students already familiar with problems and issues in interpretation may want more in the way of dialogue with other hermeneutical positions.

By framing his discussion of war in the categories of traditional pacifist apologetics, that is, *violence versus nonviolence*, Swartley has excluded important aspects of the contemporary discussion, e.g., the growing consensus among "just-war" advocates as well as pacifists that modern warfare, and especially the development of "first-strike" nuclear weaponry, render obsolete all the traditional categories of "just" or "justifiable" war. He introduces as one nonpacifist position the viewpoint of various liberation theologies that "nonviolence" as an ideal for the oppressed really means only capitulation

to the institutionalized violence of the dominant social structure. Of course he disagrees with this assessment; one wishes he had said why, had spelled out what in it was hermeneutically right or wrong.

This is nonetheless a refreshing approach to hermeneutics. This reader welcomes the prominent place given to "the testimony of the Holy Spirit as it bears witness in our spirits" (p. 222): Swartley resists the all too common temptation to provide a scientific tool by which the Word of God may be reliably grasped and held tight. The emphasis on the centrality in biblical interpretation of the community of discipleship to Jesus transcends the author's own history in the Mennonite tradition and gives his work a universal appeal. Not the least of this book's contributions may be in its thorough demonstration of the inadequacy of pious appeals to "the Bible alone" as the authority for ethical decisions. *Slavery, Sabbath, War and Women* may consequently have the most value as a first textbook in classes on biblical interpretation in colleges and seminaries, where many Christian students must confront for the first time the challenges of historical critical method and cultural pluralism to an unreflective "the Bible only" approach.

In the classic *The Politics of Jesus*, John Howard Yoder argued that pacifism be taken seriously as a legitimate moral and political option. In *When War Is Unjust*, Yoder calls on those Christians who make appeal to the "just war" tradition to take their own position with the same moral seriousness. This book, edited by a Lutheran press and introduced by a Lutheran churchman, Charles P. Lutz, is a solid foundation for ecumenical dialogue between the historical peace churches and those churches that have traditionally been part of the just war tradition. *When War Is Unjust* deserves a place in the library of every Christian concerned with peacemaking; the six concise chapters and a study guide written by Lutz (pp. 89-93) make the book an excellent subject for classroom use in church or school, as well. A brief bibliography is provided.

Most appeals to the "just war" tradition (Yoder prefers the expression "justifiable war," since the tradition never identifies warfare as a positive good—only as a justifiable but regrettable evil) are patently unfamiliar with that tradition. Often Christians speak of "just war" when their position really amounts to

a baptism of wars of national interest or religious or ideological holy wars. In Chapter 1 Yoder sets out a skeletal outline of the criteria by which military endeavors are evaluated in classical just war theory, and argues convincingly that Christians who adopt the moral position of the just war tradition honestly and courageously will find themselves standing shoulder to shoulder with Christian pacifists in the overwhelming majority of cases, including the case of nuclear warfare. Chapters 2 through 4 present a quick history of the just war tradition from its Medieval expositions to the present, tracing theological, political, and technical developments that have transformed the tradition. Whereas the scholastic arguments were concerned with the question of the professional knight's acceptability at the Eucharist (and thus clearly assumed the sinfulness of the knight's bloodletting), the Reformers were more concerned with the prince's right to wage war in defense of sovereignty. Yoder here lays the onus of responsibility for Europe's wars of religion on the Reformers themselves: what had been the crusade's violence against the infidel was now made the Protestant prince's right to raise the sword against the Catholics of the next principality. The secularization of the Reformers' position in the following centuries and the pressures of national interest and technological advance have resulted in the debilitation of the critical function of the just war tradition, which now means little more than a religious *carte blanche* to militarism. In Chapter 5 Yoder laments the miserable state of popular and political (mis)use of the tradition. Especially in the U.S., the criteria for the just waging of war (*ius in bello*)—the immunity of non-combatants, the proportionality of retaliation—have been reduced to military expediency. Moral reflection, when it exists, is usually confined to the just cause for going to war (*ius ad bellum*), and even then, heated patriotic rhetoric has the day.

Yoder takes up again the central challenge of the book in Chapter 6, spelling out the conditions under which alone the just war tradition can become morally credible. He is quite skeptical that discourse about just or justifiable war can ever be meaningful in the case of nuclear weapons (where criteria of discrimination are technologically impracticable) or in that of U.S. involvement in guerrilla wars in Central America (where

the question of legitimate authority is inextricably bound up with U.S. corporate and national self-interest). Perhaps most difficult for the American psyche is the requirement of just war theory that when war is unjust, surrender be contemplated as the only moral act: "The simplest functional definition of [the just war tradition] is that one would rather surrender than commit certain belligerent acts. *If the only way not to lose a war is to commit a war crime, it is morally right to lose that war*" (p. 67). Neither will the just war tradition have regained its Christian soul until real nonviolent alternatives are worked out and applied to international and domestic conflicts as the course of first resort. Lutz emphasizes the most immediate consequence of Yoder's argument for U.S. churches: "the just-war tradition inevitably leads to the real possibility of conflict with the law" (p. 10). Since the U.S. government does not recognize selective conscientious objection, just war theory requires that Christians be morally prepared and educated for civil disobedience.

In sum, Yoder shows that those Christians who cannot embrace pacifism today must nevertheless find themselves in common cause with pacifists, in working for peace and in practicing nonviolent resistance to modern militarism, if they would hold to the just war tradition with any integrity. Nothing less than a revolution in the church's identity, pedagogy, and practice is required. *When War Is Unjust* cannot be recommended too highly as a contribution toward that transformation.

NEIL ELLIOTT

The Graduate School
Princeton Theological Seminary

Cormier, Jay. *Giving Good Homilies: A Communications Guide to More Effective Preaching*. Notre Dame, IN: Ave Maria Press, 1984. Pp. 95. \$3.95 (paper).

This is an exciting little book which every preaching minister or priest ought to take a spare hour or so to read. Its sub-title indicates the author's expertise and intention and, although some homilists, especially Protestants, will find much here that is old story, yet what he set out to do he does well. Cormier, a layman, who is director of communications for the Archdiocese of Wash-

ington, DC, writes from a wide range of professional experience in broadcasting (both radio and television), in workshops for religious and business organizations, and in instruction of candidates for the diaconate of the Roman Catholic Church. As an introductory guidebook for students of the homily, this book should be highly useful. The author's agenda covers especially the communication skills of preaching, how "to write for the ear," how "to make points effectively and succinctly," how "to prepare one's delivery," and how "to emphasize thoughts and phrases through voice inflection."

He has many good things to say about "audience analysis," the purpose of the particular homily, one's own image in the eyes and minds of the hearers ("putting your own credibility on the line"), step-by-step strategy in developing and organizing sermon materials, and reflecting upon "Does this homily do what I want it to do?" The texture of his material is brightened by arresting phrasal concepts: "to say nothing that means anything"; "want them to feel something";

"their attitude towards you"; "you're not selling soap, you're sharing faith"; "what are the human dimensions of this scripture reading"; "move from the familiar to the unfamiliar"; "establish empathy"; "a sure turn-off for many of your listeners"; and "gestures work only if they are natural."

For the teacher of preaching this slim volume makes an excellent supplementary monograph to a comprehensive course in biblically and theologically oriented homiletical theory. It re-emphasizes the basic communications fundamentals all homileticians "hold to be self-evident" and de-emphasizes what some experts boost as being indispensable. Many teachers and connoisseurs of good preaching, however, would like to have the communications expert identify that mysterious, indefinable, inner "something" which, despite oblivion to all the rules of the book, still made Fosdick, Buttrick, Brooks, Sheen, etc., great pulpiteers over a span of generations.

DONALD MACLEOD
Princeton Theological Seminary

Theology Today

THEOLOGY TODAY presents complex issues in a way that communicates effectively, without glossing controversy. The lucidity and consistent quality of the discussions make THEOLOGY TODAY an essential component of my reading.

—Katharine D. Sakenfeld

I read every issue of THEOLOGY TODAY and have done so for a good many years. The astonishing thing is that it is still one of the most interesting journals I see.

—Karl Menninger

THEOLOGY TODAY is essential reading for all who are interested in serious and timely theological discussion. It is for me a necessity to my continuing theological education.

—Richard J. Mouw

Now in its 41st year, THEOLOGY TODAY has become the most influential and widely circulated quarterly of theology in the United States. Its articles have not only charted the trends of contemporary religious thought but influenced them as well. THEOLOGY TODAY offers its readers clear, concise essays by prominent writers and a broadened vision of the task of theology and the church in a changing world.

For a challenging look at what theology is and can be, subscribe now to THEOLOGY TODAY for \$14.00 per year.

THEOLOGY TODAY, P.O. Box 29, Princeton, NJ 08542

Please enter/renew my subscription for:

_____ 1 year (4 issues, \$14.00)

_____ Bill me

_____ 2 years (8 issues, \$25.00)

_____ Check enclosed

Name

Street

City

StateZip

Special Student rate: \$10.00 per year. Please make all checks payable to THEOLOGY TODAY in U.S. funds.

**Selected
Continuing
Education
Seminars
from
Princeton
Theological
Seminary**

**October
1984 —
January
1985**

OCTOBER 8-10

**Routes to God for Today: Nature,
Scripture, Experience**

Diogenes Allen, Princeton Seminary

OCTOBER 15-18

Fresh Every Sunday

*John R. Killinger, First Presbyterian
Church, Lynchburg, VA*

OCTOBER 22-25

**Liturgical Renewal in
Reformed Worship**

*Fred R. Anderson, Pine Street
Presbyterian Church, Harrisburg, PA;
David A. Weldon, Princeton Seminary*

NOVEMBER 7-8

The Generation of Ecumenism

*Thomas Stransky, Karlfried Froeblich,
John Long, David Willis, John C. Reiss,
James I. McCord*

NOVEMBER 26-29

The Pastor as Evangelist

*Richard S. Armstrong,
Princeton Seminary*

OFF-CAMPUS

MINNEAPOLIS - NOVEMBER 13-16

**New Testament Perspectives
on Christian Life Amidst
Suffering and Hope**

*J. Christiaan Beker, Princeton Seminary
—and—*

**Building a Pastoral Network in the
Local Congregation**

*Suzanne P.M. Rudiselle,
Princeton Seminary*

AFRICA - JANUARY 7-26

**Christianity in Africa —
a travel seminar**

*Robert A. Evans, Plowshares Institute;
Ronald C. White, Jr., Princeton Seminary*

**FOR MORE
INFORMATION**



Please send a brochure and application to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Country _____ Zip _____

Send to: Center of Continuing Education,
Princeton Theological Seminary,
12 Library Place, Princeton, NJ 08540

PB

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

CN 821

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY 08542

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
SPEER LIBRARY
CN 821
PRINCETON NJ 08540

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage Paid
Princeton, N.J. 08542
Permit No. 190